THE

SPEECH

OF THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

Fitzgibbon

JOHN, EARL OF CLARE,

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF IRELAND,

IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS OF IRELAND,

ON A MOTION MADE BY HIM,

ON MONDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1800,

" That, in order to promote and ſecure the eſſential Intereſts of
" Great Britain and Ireland, and to conſolidate the Strength,
" Power, and Reſources of the Britiſh Empire, it will be
" adviſable to concur in ſuch Meaſures as may beſt tend to
" unite the two Kingdoms, in ſuch Manner, and on ſuch
" Terms and Conditions, as may be eſtabliſhed by Acts of
" the reſpective Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland."

By Authority.

DUBLIN; PRINTED BY J. MILLIKEN.

LONDON; RE-PRINTED FOR J. WRIGHT, PICCADILLY.

1800.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

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LORD CHANCELLOR's SPEECH,

IN THE

House of Lords of Ireland,

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1800,

The Order of the Day being read for taking His Majesty's Message into Consideration relative to the proposed LEGISLATIVE UNION *between* Great Britain *and* Ireland, *and the Articles for that Purpose*;

The LORD CHANCELLOR arose, and spoke as follows.

MY LORDS,

I RISE to call your Lordships' attention to a subject, certainly the most momentous which has ever been submitted for decision to the Parliament

of this country: a ſubject embracing the vital intereſts of Ireland, and intimately affecting the ſtrength and proſperity of the Britiſh Empire. In this grave Aſſembly I feel perfect confidence it will receive a calm, and patient, and diſpaſſionate inveſtigation. I am ſenſible, nevertheleſs, that it falls to my lot to addreſs your Lordſhips under great diſadvantages. The beſt talents, the moſt enlightened minds of which the Britiſh Empire has ever had to boaſt, have been rouſed to exertion in contemplating an Incorporation of theſe kingdoms; and after the brilliant and ample diſcuſſion which the ſubject has received in both countries, it cannot well be expected of me to throw new light upon it. But when I recollect the criminal and unexampled efforts which have been made, from the moment when this meaſure was firſt propoſed for diſcuſſion, to bear it down by noiſe, and faction, and intrigue, if not by recommendations of open rebellion, I ſhould condemn myſelf for a groſs dereliction of my duty, if I were to forbear to ſubmit it to your Lordſhips' moſt ſerious conſideration, in all its various and important views and bearings; more eſpecially as I feel a ſtrong conviction indeed, that nothing but Union can ſave this kingdom from annihilation, and eventually uphold the ſtability of the Britiſh Empire.

My

My opinions on this ſubject have not been recently or lightly formed; early profeſſional habits had taught me to inveſtigate the foundation of Iriſh titles, and of neceſſity to look back into Iriſh hiſtory. It has been my fortune to be called into active and forward public ſervice, perhaps during the moſt eventful period of it; and from a critical and attentive obſervation of what has paſſed in Ireland for the laſt twenty years, I am ſatisfied in my judgment and conſcience, that the exiſtence of her independent Parliament has gradually led to her recent complicated and bitter calamities; and that it has at length become deſperate and impracticable. I did, more than once, when I ſat in the Houſe of Commons, ſtate, without reſerve, that the rapid growth of faction, and the precipitate folly and paſſion of men, who from time to time were ſuffered to take a commanding lead in the councils of that Aſſembly, would inevitably reduce us to the alternative of Separation or Union. I have with as little reſerve ſtated the ſame opinion ſince I have had the honour of a ſeat in this Houſe; and I make no ſcruple to avow, that in every communication which I have had with the King's Miniſters on Iriſh affairs for the laſt ſeven years, I have uniformly and diſtinctly preſſed upon them the urgent neceſſity of Union, as the laſt reſource to preſerve this country to the Britiſh Crown. I preſſed it without effect, until Britiſh

Miniſters and the Britiſh nation were rouſed to a ſenſe of their common danger, by the late ſanguinary and unprovoked rebellion.

It ſeems perfectly immaterial now to inquire what was the origin of that connexion which has ſubſiſted for more than ſix centuries between this country and England; whether it originated in conqueſt, as Engliſh lawyers and hiſtorians have confidently advanced, or, as we aſſert with equal confidence, in a federal compact of ſome old Iriſh Chiefs with the Engliſh King. Of the hiſtorical fact, however, no doubt can be entertained, that, before that connexion, Ireland never enjoyed a ſtate of domeſtic ſecurity, or a government or conſtitution capable of protecting her inhabitants from violation in their perſons or property. If the conqueſt of Ireland was the object of the Engliſh King, his embarraſſments on the continent ſeem to have diſabled him from effecting it, the firſt Engliſh ſettlements here having been merely colonial, ſuch as has ſince been made by the different nations of Europe on the coaſts of Aſia, Africa, or America; and during ſeveral ſucceſſive reigns the Engliſh colony was left to thrive by its own ſtrength and reſources, having received no other reinforcement than the occaſional arrival of new Britiſh adventurers. The conſequence was, that for centuries the Engliſh Pale was not puſhed beyond its original

ginal limits. So late as the reign of Henry the Eighth it conſiſted of four ſhires only; and Mr. Allen, then Maſter of the Rolls, reported to the King, that his laws were not obeyed twenty miles from the capital. The common obſervation of the country was, that they who dwelt by weſt of the river Barrow, dwelt by weſt of the law.

The early policy of the Engliſh government certainly was, to diſcourage all connexion of the colony with the native Iriſh; the ſtatute of Kilkenny, enacted by the provincial aſſembly of the Pale in the reign of Edward III. having prohibited marriage or goſſipred with the Iriſhry, or claiming the benefit of the Brehon law, by any perſon of Engliſh blood, under the penalties of treaſon. This ſtatute has been much extolled by Sir John Davies, as eminently qualified to reform the degenerate Engliſh, as he calls them: it ſeems difficult, however, to reconcile it to any principle of ſound policy; it was a declaration of perpetual war, not only againſt the native Iriſh, but againſt every perſon of Engliſh blood, who had ſettled beyond the limits of the Pale, and from motives of perſonal intereſt or convenience had formed connexions with the natives, or adopted their laws and cuſtoms; and it had the full effect which might have been expected: it drew cloſer the confederacy it was meant to diſſolve, and implicated the colony of the Pale in ceaſeleſs warfare

fare and contention with each other, and with the inhabitants of the adjacent diſtricts.

Such was the ſtate of Ireland when the attempt was firſt made to promulgate the Engliſh ſtatute-law here; and it is not extraordinary that in the complicated quarrels and promiſcuous wars which had ſubſiſted for centuries between the native Iriſh and degenerate Engliſh, and Engliſh of blood and Engliſh of birth within the Pale, the attempt proved altogether abortive. The taunting anſwer of Maguire chief of Fermanagh to the Lord Deputy, who applied to him to receive a Sheriff commiſſioned by Henry VIII. ſufficiently explains the ſtate of the country, and the authority of the King's government in it:—"Your Sheriff ſhall be welcome to me; but if he comes, ſend me his *eric* (the price of his head), that, if my people ſlay him, I may fine them accordingly."

In the ſame reign a formal treaty was made with the Earl of Deſmond, for his permiſſion that the Engliſh law ſhould be executed, and the ſubſidies granted by the Parliament of the Pale be levied in his country; and other chiefs treated for the admiſſion of the King's Judges, or Arbitrators as they called them, on condition only that they ſhould obſerve the Iriſh law. And perhaps if theſe Judges or any other officers commiſſioned by the Crown, had been authorized to act as arbitra-

tors

tors to compoſe the feuds and animoſities of the Iriſh tribes and powerful Lords of Engliſh blood, the habitual and licentious turbulence of the Iriſh nation might gradually have ſubſided, and acquieſced in the eſtabliſhment of a rational and civilized government; but fatally at this time a new ſchiſm aroſe, which has been the bane and peſtilence of Ireland. It has rendered her a blank among the nations of Europe, and will, I fear, long continue to retard her progreſs in the civilized world.

In every other nation of Europe where the reformed religion is eſtabliſhed, it has been the reſult of inquiry and conviction. It has kept pace with the progreſs of ſcience; and the human mind, revolting from the impoſitions which had been practiſed upon it for ages, ſhook off the yoke of bigotry and ſuperſtition. But Ireland, cut off from all communication with the civilized world, and enveloped in dark and impenetrable ignorance, continued blindly devoted to the ſuperſtitious errors of the Popiſh faith. Sunk as ſhe was below the reach of curioſity or ſpeculation, it was equally hopeleſs and impolitic to call upon the people at once to abjure the religion of their anceſtors, and to ſubſcribe to new doctrines which they were utterly incapable of underſtanding. In the reign of Henry VIII. no attempt was made to force the reformed liturgy upon them; he was ſatisfied with

a ſilent acquieſcence in his claim of ſupremacy. But on his death this ſyſtem of moderation was deſerted; orders were iſſued by the Regency for enforcing the uſe of the Engliſh liturgy, and ſtripping the churches of their old ornaments in every diſtrict in which the Engliſh power was acknowledged. In the ſucceeding reign the tables were reverſed;—the Proteſtant churches were ſhut; the Popiſh liturgy and old enſigns of ſuperſtition were reſtored; and a Bull of Pope Paul IV. for remiſſion of paſt hereſies, and receiving the penitent Iriſh into the boſom of the holy church, was accepted by both Houſes of the colonial Parliament, kneeling devoutly on their knees, and enacted and confirmed by ſtatute. This extraordinary inſtrument, with the details of its legiſlative conſecration, remains at this hour on your ſtatute-book. In the reign of Elizabeth a new reverſe took place: without regard to the Bull of Paul, received and confirmed by the Iriſh ſtatute, the Popiſh churches were again ſtripped of their ornaments; the reformed liturgy was again enforced; and the Engliſh Act of Uniformity was enacted by the colonial Parliament; and what ſeems to be a ſoleciſm in the hiſtory of legiſlation, in the body of this act, by which the uſe of the Engliſh liturgy, and a ſtrict conformity to it, are enjoined under ſevere penalties, a clauſe is introduced, reciting, that Engliſh miniſters cannot be found to ſerve in Iriſh churches; that the Iriſh people did

not

not underſtand the Engliſh language, that the church ſervice cannot be celebrated in Iriſh, as well from the difficulty of getting it printed, as that few in the whole realm can read. And what is the remedy?—If the Miniſter of the Goſpel cannot ſpeak Engliſh, he may celebrate the church ſervice in the Latin tongue!—a language certainly as unintelligible to his congregation as the Engliſh tongue, and probably not very familiar to the Miniſter thus authorized to uſe it.

It ſeems difficult to conceive any more unjuſt or impolitic act of Government than an attempt thus to force new modes of religious faith and worſhip, by ſevere penalties, upon a rude, ſuperſtitious, and unlettered people. Perſecution or attempts to force conſcience will never produce conviction. They are calculated only to make hypocrites or martyrs; and accordingly the violence committed by the regency of Edward, and continued by Elizabeth, to force the reformed religion on Ireland, had no other effect than to foment a general diſaffection to the Engliſh government; a diſaffection ſo general as to induce Philip II. of Spain to attempt partial deſcents on the ſouthern coaſts of this iſland, preparatory to his meditated attack upon England. Elizabeth quickly ſaw her danger, and that it was neceſſary without delay to ſecure the poſſeſſion of Ireland; ſhe ſent over a powerful and well-appointed army, and after a

difficult and bloody war of ſeven years, effected the complete reduction of the iſland, which till the period of this firſt conqueſt had been divided into a number of licentious and independent tribes, under the rule of the ancient chiefs of the country, and powerful Lords of Engliſh blood, who had obtained profuſe territorial grants from the Crown. She did not however live to ſee this reduction completed; the capitulation with O'Neale was not ſigned till ſome time after her death; and therefore her ſucceſſor muſt be conſidered as the firſt Engliſh Monarch who poſſeſſed the complete dominion of Ireland. The acceſſion of James I. I conſider as the æra of connexion between the ſiſter iſlands. Then for the firſt time was the ſpirit of reſiſtance to the Engliſh power broken down, and the Engliſh laws univerſally acknowledged. Sir John Davies, in the quaint pedantry of his day, deſcribes Juſtice, the ſword having cleared her way, as taking the whole country in her progreſs, as Virgo moves in the zodiac, preceded by Leo.

The firſt object of the King ſeems to have been, to eſtabliſh the reformation; but in purſuing it, unfortunately he adopted the ſame courſe by which his predeceſſors had been miſled: but *his* meaſures were attended with much more ſerious and extenſive conſequences; *their* orders for religious reformation had extended only to the churches and

diſtricts

diſtricts within the Pale: but the orders ſent by the Council of James I. extended to the whole iſland. The province of Ulſter had been the principal theatre of the late civil war, and had been confiſcated and ſeized into the hands of the Crown. The old proprietors who had led the revolt were expelled, and replaced by a new ſet of adventurers from England and Scotland; all Proteſtants, who, with a new religion, brought over with them a new ſource of contention with the inhabitants.

One of the modern arts of civil war in Ireland has been, to ſtigmatize the memory of James I. as having ſapped the liberties and ſubverted the Parliamentary conſtitution of Ireland; and this revolutionary text, from the moment it was given out, has been enlarged upon with equal aſſiduity and ſucceſs by every avowed rebel and equivocal loyaliſt in the kingdom. But what is the fact which ſtands recorded and authenticated beyond doubt or controverſy? That Ireland, before the acceſſion of James I. never had any thing like a regular government or Parliamentary conſtitution. In the reign of Edward II. the deſcendants of the firſt Engliſh ſettlers had a provincial aſſembly, which was called the Parliament of the Pale; the ſame ſort of aſſembly was occaſionally ſummoned during ſeveral ſucceſſive reigns; and any man who will take the trouble to read the ſtatute-book

will find that the principal buſineſs of them all was to paſs ordinances of outlawry againſt the native Iriſh, and inhabitants of Engliſh blood connected with them. But ſuch was the contempt in which theſe aſſemblies were held, that even the coloniſts of the Pale conſidered it an inſult to be ſummoned to attend them. The Earl of Deſmond claimed it as the right of privilege of the Lords of Engliſh blood, not to attend theſe aſſemblies, or to come into any walled town but at their own will and pleaſure. In the province of Connaught there is not the trace of a claim or any exerciſe of any Parliamentary franchiſe till late in the reign of Elizabeth; in Ulſter none, till the reign of James I. Some few of the ſea-ports in Munſter had been occaſionally ſummoned to ſend deputies to the colonial Parliament, but ſuch was the ſtate of the country, that they could not make their way to the Pale; inſomuch that in the 33d of Henry VIII. it was found neceſſary to repeal an ordinance by which the place of meeting of the colonial Parliament was reſtricted to Dublin or Drogheda. The cauſe aſſigned in the act of repeal is, that by reaſon of the diſtance of obedient ſhires and borough-towns, and the perilous paſſage by the way from the King's rebels, theſe deputies could not attend. And it is quite true that James I. did ſap the liberties of the Iriſh nation to murder obnoxious deputies on their paſſage to attend Parliament. It is equally true, that the modern

aſſertors of Iriſh dignity and independence have moſt laudably exerted themſelves to revive theſe liberties on a ſolid and permanent baſis, and that the ſovereign Iriſh people have been always extremely tenacious of them, as eſſential to their phyſical conſequence. The crime for which the memory of James I. has been calumniated is, that he laid the foundation of a regular government in Ireland, and of the exiſting eſtabliſhments in church and ſtate. At his acceſſion there were ſcarcely any Proteſtants amongſt the old inhabitants of Engliſh blood; amongſt the native Iriſh, none. For the laſt twenty years therefore of Elizabeth, ſhe could not venture to call the colonial Parliament. The diſtinction of Engliſhry and Iriſhry had been nearly effaced in her time, and was ſucceeded by a new ſchiſm of Proteſtant and Papiſt. But from the firſt introduction of his Proteſtant colony by James I. the old diſtinctions of native Iriſh and degenerate Engliſh, and Engliſh of blood and Engliſh of birth, were loſt and forgotten; all rallied around the banner of the Popiſh faith, and looked upon the new Proteſtant ſettlers as the common aggreſſor and enemy; and it is a melancholy truth, that from that day all have clung to the Popiſh religion as a common bond of union, and an hereditary pledge of animoſity to Britiſh ſettlers and the Britiſh nation.—What alternative then remained to the King for retaining this country under the dominion of his crown? In the modern

modern revolutionary phraſe, the phyſical conſequence of the country was arrayed againſt the Engliſh colony and the Engliſh government. He was therefore driven to the neceſſity of treating the old inhabitants as a conquered people, and governing their country as an Engliſh province, or of fortifying his Proteſtant colony by inveſting them excluſively with the artificial power of a ſeparate government, which on every principle of ſelf-intereſt and ſelf-preſervation they were bound to adminiſter in concert with England. The executive departments were under the immediate control of the ordinary royal prerogative: but it was vain to hope that he could retain poſſeſſion of Ireland under a ſeparate government, unleſs a majority of the Iriſh Parliament ſtood well affected to the Engliſh Crown and Engliſh nation: and to obtain that majority, he reſorted to the exerciſe of a prerogative which has always belonged to the Engliſh Crown —by erecting new counties and incorporating ſome of the principal towns occupied by the new ſettlers, giving them the franchiſe of ſending Repreſentatives to the Iriſh Parliament. And I repeat, without incurring the hazard of contradiction, that Ireland never had any aſſembly which could be called a Parliament until the reign of James I. The Legiſlative aſſemblies before his acceſſion were compoſed only of the few perſons who could be prevailed upon to attend from obedient ſhires and towns within the

the Pale, or immediately adjacent to it, and from a few ſcattered Engliſh ſettlements on the coaſts of Munſter; and with all the exertions made in ſupport of the Proteſtant colony, the majority in its favour at the firſt meeting was little more than 20. And it would ſeem that the debates of that day partook pretty largely of modern virulence; for a ſcuffle took place in the Houſe of Commons, which might have ended in bloodſhed, if the precaution had not been taken to diſarm the combatants before they were ſuffered to meet in Parliament.

The ſteady government of Strafford kept down theſe animoſities, which had continued with unabated rancour until his time. But at his removal, the old inhabitants, taking advantage of the weakneſs and diſtraction of the Engliſh government, broke out into open hoſtility and rebellion. The flame had long been ſmothered, and at length burſt forth with a terrible exploſion. The native Iriſh began the inſurrection; but were ſoon joined by the Engliſh colony, and Lords of Engliſh blood, with few exceptions. After a fierce and bloody conteſt of eleven years, in which the face of the whole iſland was deſolated, and its population nearly extinguiſhed by war, peſtilence, and famine, the inſurgents were ſubdued, and ſuffered all the calamities which could be inflicted on the vanquiſhed party, in a long-conteſted civil war.

war. This was a civil war of extermination.—The rebellion of 1798 would have been a war of extermination, if it had not been for the ſtrong and merciful interpoſition of Great Britain; and I could wiſh that the beſotted rebels of this day, who have been ſaved from extermination by a Britiſh Monarch, would look back at the bleſſings of republican liberty, dealt out to their anceſtors by the uſurper Cromwell.

His firſt act was to collect all the native Iriſh who had ſurvived the general deſolation, and remained in the country, and to tranſplant them into the province of Connaught, which had been completely depopulated and laid waſte in the progreſs of the rebellion. They were ordered to retire thither by a certain day, and forbidden to repaſs the river Shannon on pain of death; and this ſentence of deportation was rigidly enforced until the Reſtoration. Their ancient poſſeſſions were ſeized and given up to the conquerors, as were the poſſeſſions of every man who had taken a part in the rebellion, or followed the fortunes of the King, after the murder of Charles I. This whole fund was diſtributed among the officers and ſoldiers of Cromwell's army, in ſatisfaction of the arrears of their pay, and among the adventurers who had advanced money to defray the expenſes of the war. And thus a new colony of new ſettlers, compoſed of all the various ſects which then infeſted England—Independents,

ents, Anabaptiſts, Seceders, Browniſts, Socinians, Millenarians, and Diſſenters of every deſcription, many of them infected with the leven of democracy—poured into Ireland, and were put into poſſeſſion of the ancient inheritance of its inhabitants. I ſpeak with great perſonal reſpect of theſe men, when I ſtate that a very conſiderable portion of the opulence and power of the kingdom of Ireland centres at this day in the deſcendants of this motley collection of Engliſh adventurers.

It ſeems evident from the whole tenour of the declaration made by Charles II. at his reſtoration, that a private ſtipulation had been made by Monk in favour of Cromwell's ſoldiers and adventurers, who had been put into poſſeſſion of the confiſcated lands in Ireland; and it would have been an act of groſs injuſtice on the part of the King to have overlooked their intereſts. The civil war of 1641 was a rebellion againſt the Crown of England, and the complete reduction of the Iriſh rebels by Cromwell redounded eſſentially to the advantage of the Britiſh empire. But admitting the principle of this declaration in its fulleſt extent, it is impoſſible to defend the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, by which it was carried into effect; and I could wiſh that modern aſſertors of Iriſh dignity and independence would take the trouble to read and underſtand them.

The Act of Settlement profeſſes to have for its object the execution of His Majeſty's gracious declaration for the ſettlement of his kingdom of Ireland, and the ſatisfaction of the ſeveral intereſts of adventurers, ſoldiers, and other his ſubjects there; and after reciting the rebellion, the enormities committed in the progreſs of it, and the final reduction of the rebels by the King's Engliſh and Proteſtant ſubjects, by a general ſweeping clauſe veſts in the King, his heirs and ſucceſſors, all eſtates real and perſonal, of every kind whatſoever in the kingdom of Ireland, which at any time from the 21ſt of October 1641, were ſeized or ſequeſtered into the hands, or to the uſe of Charles I. or the then king, or otherwiſe diſpoſed of, ſet out or ſet apart, by reaſon or on account of the rebellion, or which were allotted, aſſigned, or diſtributed to any perſon or perſons for adventures, arrears, repriſals, or otherwiſe, or whereof any ſoldier, adventurer, or other perſon was in poſſeſſion for or on account of the rebellion. And having thus, in the firſt inſtance, veſted three fourths of the lands and perſonal property of the inhabitants of this iſland in the King, Commiſſioners are appointed with full and exclusive authority, to hear and determine all claims upon the general fund, whether of officers and ſoldiers for arrears of pay, of adventurers who had advanced money for carring on the war, or of innocent Papiſts, as they are called; in other

words, of the old inhabitants of the iſland, who had been diſpoſſeſſed by Cromwell, not for having taken a part in the rebellion againſt the Engliſh Crown, but for their attachment to the fortunes of Charles II. But with reſpect to this claſs of ſufferers, who might naturally have expected a preference of claim, a clauſe is introduced, by which they are poſtponed after a decree of innocence by the Commiſſioners, until previous repriſal ſhall be made to Cromwell's ſoldiers and adventurers, who had obtained poſſeſſion of their inheritance. I will not detain the Houſe with a minute detail of the proviſions of this Act, thus paſſed for the ſettlement of Ireland; but I wiſh Gentlemen, who call themſelves the dignified and independent Iriſh nation, to know, that ſeven millions eight hundred thouſand acres of land were ſet out, under the authority of this Act, to a motley crew of Engliſh adventurers, civil and military, nearly to the total excluſion of the old inhabitants of the iſland. Many of the latter claſs, who were innocent of the rebellion, loſt their inheritance, as well from the difficulties impoſed upon them by the Court of Claims, in the proofs required of their innocence, as from a deficiency in the fund for repriſal to Engliſh adventurers, ariſing principally from a profuſe grant made by the Crown to the Duke of York. The Parliament of Ireland, having made this ſettlement of the iſland in effect on themſelves, granted an hereditary revenue to the Crown, as an

indemnity for the forfeitures thus relinquiſhed by Charles II.

After the expulſion of James from the throne of England, the old inhabitants made a final effort for the recovery of their ancient power, in which they were once more defeated by an Engliſh army, and the ſlender relics of Iriſh poſſeſſions became the ſubject of freſh confiſcation. From the Report made by the Commiſſioners appointed by the Parliament of England in 1698, it appears, that the Iriſh ſubjects outlawed for the rebellion of 1688 amounted to three thouſand nine hundred and ſeventy-eight; and that their Iriſh poſſeſſions, as far as could be computed, were of the annual value of two hundred and eleven thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-three pounds, compriſing one million ſixty thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-two acres. This fund was ſold under the authority of an Engliſh Act of Parliament, to defray the expenſes incurred by England in reducing the rebels of 1688; and the ſale introduced into Ireland a new ſet of adventurers.

It is a very curious and important ſpeculation to look back to the forfeitures of Ireland incurred in the laſt century. The ſuperficial contents of the iſland are calculated at eleven millions forty-two thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-

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two acres. Let us now examine the ſtate of forfeitures:

	Acres.
In the reign of James I. the whole of the province of Ulſter was confiſcated, containing - - -	2,836,837
Set out by the Court of Claims at the Reſtoration - - -	7,800,000
Forfeitures of 1688 - - -	1,060,792
Total -	11,697,629

So that the whole of your iſland has been confiſcated, with the exception of the eſtates of five or ſix old families of Engliſh blood, ſome of whom had been attainted in the reign of Henry VIII. but recovered their poſſeſſions before Tyrone's rebellion, and had the good fortune to eſcape the pillage of the Engliſh Republic inflicted by Cromwell; and no inconſiderable portion of the iſland has been confiſcated twice, or perhaps thrice, in the courſe of a century. The ſituation therefore of the Iriſh nation at the Revolution ſtands unparalleled in the hiſtory of the inhabited world. If the wars of England carried on here, from the reign of Elizabeth, had been waged againſt a foreign enemy, the inhabitants would have retained their poſſeſſions under the eſtabliſhed law of civilized nations, and their country have been annexed as a province to the Britiſh empire. But the continued and perſe-

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vering reſiſtance of Ireland to the Britiſh Crown during the whole of the laſt century, was mere rebellion, and the municipal law of England attached upon the crime. What then was the ſituation of Ireland at the Revolution, and what is it at this day? The whole power and property of the country has been conferred by ſucceſſive Monarchs of England upon an Engliſh colony, compoſed of three ſets of Engliſh adventurers, who poured into this country at the termination of three ſucceſſive rebellions.—Confiſcation is their common title; and from their firſt ſettlement they have been hemmed in on every ſide by the old inhabitants of the iſland, brooding over their diſcontents in ſullen indignation. It is painful to me to go into this detail, but we have been for twenty years in a fever of intoxication, and muſt be ſtunned into ſobriety.

What then was the ſecurity of the Engliſh ſettlers for their phyſical exiſtence at the Revolution? and what is the ſecurity of their deſcendants at this day?—The powerful and commanding protection of Great Britain. If by any fatality it fails, you are at the mercy of the old inhabitants of the iſland; and I ſhould have hoped, that the ſamples of mercy exhibited by them in the progreſs of the late rebellion, would have taught the Gentlemen who call themſelves the Iriſh nation, to reflect with ſober attention on the dangers which ſurround them. Their anceſtors were ſenſible of it

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as became them; they ſaw the ſeeds of diſunion in the connexion which then ſubſiſted between this country and Great Britain. Strong ſymptoms of political warfare had appeared ſo early as 1698, when heads of a bill were tranſmitted hence under the Great Seal of Ireland, re-enacting an Engliſh Act of Parliament, made to bind Ireland.

The Engliſh Houſe of Commons took up the gauntlet with a high hand; a committee was appointed to examine Mr. Molyneux's book, and to report ſuch paſſages in it as they ſhould find denying the authority of the Parliament of England, and alſo what proceedings had taken place in Ireland, that might occaſion the ſaid pamphlet. On the 22d of June 1698, the Committee reported the obnoxious paſſages, and ſtate, that on inquiry into the proceedings in Ireland which might occaſion the pamphlet, they find in a Bill tranſmitted under the Great Seal of Ireland, during the late Parliament there, entitled, "A Bill for the better Security of Her Majeſty's Perſon and Government," that the whole of an Act paſſed in England for abrogating the oath of Supremacy in Ireland, and appointing other oaths, is re-enacted with ſome alterations; and that in the ſame Bill the crown of Ireland is ſtyled the Imperial crown of Ireland.—Upon this Report, the Houſe reſolved, *nemine contradicente*, "That the book publiſhed by Mr. Molyneux was of dangerous tendency to the Crown and People of England; by denying

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ing the authority of the King and Parliament of England to bind the kingdom and people of Ireland, and the ſubordination and dependance that Ireland hath and ought to have upon England, as being united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of England." They reſolved alſo that "the Bill lately tranſmitted from Ireland, whereby an Act of Parliament made in England expreſſly to bind Ireland is pretended to be re-enacted, had given occaſion and encouragement to forming and publiſhing the dangerous poſitions contained in the ſaid book." The Houſe in a body preſented an Addreſs to the King, enlarging in terms of great indignation on the book and its pernicious aſſertions, and on the dangerous tendency of the proceedings of the Iriſh Parliament; beſeeching His Majeſty to exert his royal prudence to prevent their being drawn into example, and to take all neceſſary care that the laws which direct and reſtrain the Parliament of Ireland in their actings be not evaded; and concluding with an aſſurance of their ready concurrence and aſſiſtance in a parliamentary way, to preſerve and maintain the dependance and ſubordination of Ireland to the Imperial crown of England. The King anſwers, "that he will take care that what is complained of ſhall be prevented and redreſſed, as the Commons deſire." Thus were the Parliaments of the two countries at iſſue ſo early as the 10th of King William. But the

Engliſh

Engliſh colony, however ſore they might have felt under the ſharp rebuke of their countrymen, were too ſenſible of the dangers by which they were ſurrounded, and their inability to encounter them, to puſh this political quarrel to a breach with the Engliſh Parliament; and at the next meeting of the Parliament of Ireland, which did not take place till the 2d of Queen Anne, the Houſe of Lords having taken into ſerious conſideration the ſtate of this nation, did on the 25th October 1703, reſolve, "That it was their opinion, upon due conſideration of the preſent conſtitution of this kingdom, that ſuch an humble repreſentation be made to the Queen of the ſtate and condition thereof, as may beſt incline Her Majeſty, by ſuch proper means as to Her Majeſty ſhould ſeem fit, to promote ſuch an union with England, as may qualify the ſtates of this kingdom to be repreſented there *."

In 1707 the Houſe of Lords again took up the ſame ſubject, and in their addreſs of congratulation to the Queen on the Scotch Union †, beſeech Her Majeſty to go on, and extend her favour to all her ſubjects, till none are excluded *from ſo great a bleſſing*, but ſuch as, by their own frowardneſs or diſaffection to the public good, bar themſelves from the general advantages of Her Majeſty's reign; and expreſs their hope that Her Majeſty's goodneſs and wiſdom will con-

* Journals of Lords, vol. ii. p. 29. † Ibid. p. 161.

quer even thoſe, and make them ſenſible of their true intereſt. In the ſame year the Commons addreſſed the Queen to the ſame effect. From the coldneſs with which ſhe anſwers the addreſſes of both Houſes on this ſubject, it is plain that her miniſters would not liſten to the propoſition of an Union with Ireland; and in finding a ſubſtitute for it there was a race of impolicy between the countries. The Parliament of England ſeem to have conſidered the permanent debility of Ireland as their beſt ſecurity for her connexion with the Britiſh Crown, and the Iriſh Parliament to have reſted the ſecurity of the colony upon maintaining a perpetual and impaſſable barrier againſt the ancient inhabitants of the country. The executive government was committed nominally to a Viceroy, but eſſentially to Lords Juſtices, ſelected from the principal State Officers of the country, who were entruſted with the conduct of what was called the King's buſineſs, but might with more propriety have been called the buſineſs of the Lords Juſtices. The Viceroy came to Ireland for a few months only in two years, and returned to England perfectly ſatisfied with his miſſion, if he did not leave the concerns of the Engliſh government worſe than he found them: and the Lords Juſtices in his abſence were entruſted implicitly with the means of conſolidating an ariſtocratic influence, which made them the neceſſary inſtruments of the Engliſh government.

After

After the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the trade of this country had ſo increaſed, that the hereditary revenue was amply ſufficient for every public ſervice, and a conſiderable ſurplus remained in the Exchequer, after defraying every charge upon it; ſo that in effect the Crown was little, if at all, dependent on Parliament for ſupport: and it is difficult to ſay how long this oligarchy might have kept its ground, if the intrigues of an ambitious eccleſiaſtic, then at the head of the Iriſh church, had not laid the foundation of party heat and animoſities, which have long diſturbed and degraded our Parliamentary proceedings. The great trial of ſtrength between the Primate and the then Speaker of the Houſe of Commons was made in 1753, when a Bill was propoſed for applying the ſurplus then in the Exchequer to pay a public debt which had been ſome time before contracted. The courtiers of that day, ranged under the eccleſiaſtical banner, contended that this ſurplus belonged to the Crown, and, therefore, that the King's previous aſſent to its application ought to be ſignified before the Commons could appropriate it. The patriots, ranged under the Speaker's banner, inſiſted that no ſuch aſſent was neceſſary, and beat their political adverſaries by a ſmall majority. Heads of a Bill for the appropriation paſſed the Commons without taking notice of the King's previous aſſent to it. They were rejected by

the Crown, and the ſurplus was applied by the royal authority, without the intervention of Parliament. But the Commons took effectual care that the queſtion ſhould not occur a ſecond time, by appropriating every future ſurplus to their private uſe, under the ſpecious pretence of local public improvements. Wind-mills and water-mills, and canals, and bridges, and ſpinning jennies, were provided at the public expenſe; and the Parliamentary patrons of theſe great national objects were entruſted with full diſcretionary powers over the money granted to complete them. From this ſyſtem of local improvement, a double advantage aroſe to the Iriſh ariſtocracy: it kept their followers ſteady in the ranks, and by reducing the Crown to the neceſſity of calling for ſupplies, made the political ſervices of the leaders neceſſary for the ſupport of the King's Government. But the precedent was fatal, and a ſyſtem has gradually been built upon it, which would beat down the moſt powerful nation of the earth. The Government of England at length opened their eyes to the defects and dangers of it; they ſhook the power of the ariſtocrary, but were unable to break it down, and ſubſtituted a much more ſerious evil, by giving birth to a race of political adventurers, poſſeſſed of an inexhauſtible ſtock of noiſe and indecorum, always at the diſpoſal of the beſt and

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highest bidder. Still, however, political ferment led to no serious conflict till the period of the American war, when we thought fit to avail ourselves of the hour of common danger and calamity, to press the claims of Ireland in terms of marked hostility to the British nation. The imbecility of Lord Buckinghamshire's government had arrayed the volunteer army, and the address to His Majesty, voted in 1779 by the Commons, demanding a free trade as the right of Ireland, was followed instantly by a resolution of thanks to that army for their array. On the old Irish volunteers I desire to be understood not to convey any thing like a censure. Their conduct will remain a problem in history; for, without the shadow of military control, to their immortal honour it is known, that from their first levy, till they disbanded themselves, no act of violence or outrage was charged against them; and they certainly did on every occasion, where their services were required, exert themselves with effect to maintain the internal peace of the country. The gentlemen of Ireland were all in their ranks, and maintained a decided influence upon them. But I shall never cease to think that the appeals made to that army by the angry politicians of that day were dangerous and ill-judged in the extreme; and that they established a precedent for rebellion, which has since been followed up with full success.

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The conceſſion of a free trade was ſucceeded by the demand of a free conſtitution; and the Engliſh colony was taught, in an evil hour, to ſeparate itſelf from the Engliſh nation. Inflammatory appeals to the volunteer army, which was held up as the armed majeſty of the people, were made from day to day from the deciſions of Parliament; and the public prints teemed with reſolutions and addreſſes, of menacing violence, in the name of different armed bodies, ſtating their determination to aſſert the freedom and independence of Ireland to the laſt drop of their blood. The Duke of Portland took upon him the government of Ireland in the midſt of this outcry, very naturally under an impreſſion, that the country was ripe for rebellion; in which, however, I have no doubt he was deceived. I can aſſert with perfect confidence, that no Gentleman of Ireland would at that day have drawn his ſword againſt Great Britain; and it certainly was the duty of the King's ſervants, in whom his repreſentative repoſed a confidence, fully to have explained this to him.

It is the faſhion now to aſſert, that what paſſed at that period was acknowledged in both countries to be a Final Adjuſtment of all political claims and controverſies between them, and a full ſecurity for their conſtitutional connexion. If it be a final adjuſtment of political

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controversy, and as full security for their connexion, it was achieved with a rapidity unexampled, and by means the most extraordinary which have ever attended an adjustment of any kind between two independent countries. The history of this adjustment lately given in the name of the Gentleman who is styled the Father of it, is—

"That it emanated from the armed convention assembled at Dungannon, was approved at county meetings of the people armed and unarmed, and was sanctioned and registered by the Irish Parliament."

If this history of our boasted constitution be well founded, I have no scruple to declare, that we cannot too soon get rid of it; we may very probably, if this be true, have a new armed convention assembled at Wexford or at Naas, and a new constitutional emanation from it, of a government composed of a directory and two councils, or of a consulate and tribunate and conservative senate; which I doubt not some future House of Commons may sanction and register in either form. But what is the true history of this Final Adjustment? The Duke of Portland arrived at the seat of his government in the evening of the 14th of April 1782, during a recess of Parliament. On the 16th, Parliament met, and a message

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was ſent down to both Houſes, in the King's name, to know the grounds of diſcontent and jealouſy which then prevailed in Ireland, and recommending to Parliament to take them into conſideration. In anſwer to this meſſage, an addreſs was moved in the Commons, by a very reſpectable country gentleman, ſuch as became a ſober and rational man,—"That, in obedience to His Majeſty's moſt gracious recommendation, the Commons would without delay take into their conſideration the diſcontents and jealouſies which have ariſen in this kingdom, the cauſes whereof they would inveſtigate with all convenient diſpatch, and humbly ſubmit to His Majeſty's royal juſtice and wiſdom." But the ardour of a popular ſtateſman could not brook the diſgrace of reflection, and an amendment to the addreſs was moved and voted by the Commons in the ſpace of one half hour, containing the whole of this Final Adjuſtment on the part of Ireland. No man of common ſenſe will believe that the King's Miniſters in Great Britain or Ireland could have been ſuch dupes and drivellers as to reſt the future connexion of the two countries upon ſuch a proceeding. But this no longer remains a queſtion of inference or opinion: the official correſpondence of the Duke of Portland, laid before the Britiſh Houſe of Commons in the laſt ſeſſion of Parliament, clears up the point moſt completely. Our addreſs was voted on the 16th of

April; and on the 6th of May following the Duke of Portland writes to Lord Shelburne, "recommending to the Britiſh Cabinet conceſſion of all the points demanded by the Iriſh addreſſes," but "ſtating his perfect confidence in the readineſs of the Iriſh Parliament to co-operate in the moſt effectual meaſures either with the King's confidential ſervants, or by commiſſioners to be appointed, or through the medium of the Chief Governor; to ſettle the preciſe limits of the independence which is required, the conſideration which ſhould be given for the protection expected, and the proportion which it would be proper for them to contribute towards the general ſupport of the empire; in purſuance of the declaration contained in the concluding paragraph of their own addreſs. The regulation of the trade would make a very neceſſary article of the treaty." This communication was made by the Duke of Portland before the claims of Ireland were brought into diſcuſſion in the Britiſh Parliament: and plainly on the faith of this repreſentation made to the Britiſh Cabinet, of the readineſs on the part of Ireland to ſettle every queſtion of imperial policy or regulation which might thereafter ariſe, the ſubject of our claims was brought on in the Britiſh Parliament, and on the 17th of May, reſolutions of both Houſes were agreed to, firſt, "That the Act of 6 George I. for the better ſecuring the dependency of the king-

dom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain ought to be repealed;" and ſecondly, "That it is indiſpenſable to the intereſt and happineſs of the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, that the connexion between them ſhould be eſtabliſhed by mutual conſent on a ſolid and permanent baſis;" *and for this purpoſe*, both Houſes addreſs His Majeſty, to deſire "that he will be graciouſly pleaſed to take ſuch meaſures as His Majeſty ſhould in his royal wiſdom think moſt conducive to the eſtabliſhing, by mutual conſent, the connexion between this kingdom and the kingdom of Ireland, upon a ſolid and permanent baſis."

The only act to be done on the part of the Britiſh Parliament in compliance with our addreſs, was the repeal of the ſtatute of 6 George I. Every other article of Iriſh grievance aroſe from Iriſh ſtatutes, and therefore if the two Houſes of the Britiſh Parliament could have ſuppoſed that the repeal of theſe ſtatutes alone was to conſtitute a final adjuſtment, or eſtabliſh any thing in the ſhape of ſecurity for the connexion between the two kingdoms, they would have ſtopped at their reſolutions for a repeal of the Act of George I.: but in conformity with the repreſentations of the Duke of Portland, they go on, and addreſs His Majeſty—For what? —To take ſuch meaſures as to his royal wiſ-

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dom ſhall ſeem meet, and may be moſt conducive to eſtabliſh by mutual conſent the connexion between the two kingdoms upon a ſolid and permanent baſis. That is, "that the King would be pleaſed, either by communications made to his confidential ſervants, or through the medium of the Chief Governor of Ireland, or by Commiſſioners, to ſet on foot a treaty between his kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, to ſettle the preciſe limits of the independence required, the conſideration to be given for the protection expected, and the proportion which it would be proper for Ireland to contribute towards the general ſupport of the empire; in purſuance of the declaration contained in the concluding paragraph of their own addreſs."—A treaty which the Duke of Portland ſtated as eſſential to a final adjuſtment, and in itſelf ſo evidently neceſſary to eſtabliſh peace and connexion between the two countries, that he had perfect confidence in the readineſs of the Iriſh Parliament to enter upon and conclude it on fair and honourable terms; a treaty held out to the Britiſh Cabinet, as an inducement for conceſſion of all the points demanded by the Iriſh addreſſes. And it is clear and plain that ſome members of the Britiſh Cabinet did, without delay, apply themſelves to draw out a plan of ſuch a treaty; for in the ſame correſpondence, we find a letter written on the 20th of May 1782, by the Duke of Portland to

Mr. ——— from, in anſwer to a diſpatch received from him—"I ſhould be very glad to hear that Lord Charlemont was inclined to accede to any part, or even to the idea of ſuch a plan as you have communicated to me; I ſhould think it a material ſtep to that ſituation in which it is the clear intereſt of both kingdoms to be placed, being convinced that what is moſt like union is the moſt probable bond of connexion to reſtore and perpetuate the harmony and proſperity of the two countries." Another member of the Cabinet, whoſe title to the reputation of genuine Engliſh whiggiſm no man will deny, the late Marquis of Rockingham, writes at the ſame time to the ſame effect. His letter is dated the 25th of May—"The eſſential points on the part of Ireland now acceded to, will, I truſt, eſtabliſh a perfect cordiality between the two countries; and as there cannot now exiſt any ground of conteſt or jealouſy between them on matters of right, the only object left for both will be, how finally to arrange, ſettle, and adjuſt all matters, whereby the union of power, ſtrength, and mutual and reciprocal advantage will be beſt permanently fixed.—I obſerve in Lord Shelburne's letter to your Grace of the 18th of May, he ſtates more reluctance to the idea of Commiſſioners than I ſhould judge to be the general opinion of His Majeſty's ſervants; the meaſure may be doubtful; but if approved by

by the leading gentlemen of Ireland, might be productive of much good."

Here then is damning proof of the falſehood and folly of the aſſertion, that the tranſactions which paſſed in 1782 were conſidered as final between Great Britain and Ireland.—It is plain that they were looked upon by all parties as leading only to a future treaty for conſolidating the ſtrength, and eſtabliſhing the connexion of both countries on a broad and permanent baſis; and no honeſt and ſenſible Iriſhman could have looked to the conceſſions then made by Great Britain, in any other point of view, than the advantage which Ireland derived from them in enabling her to treat on equal terms;—and it was not until the Duke of Portland had every reaſon to believe that ſuch treaty was in a fair train of ſettlement, that he announced the proceedings of the Britiſh Parliament in a ſpeech from the throne. This was done on the 27th of May; and on the 6th of June the Duke of Portland writes to Lord Shelburne:—"I have the beſt reaſon to hope that I ſhall ſoon be enabled to tranſmit to you the ſketch or outlines of an Act of Parliament to be adopted by the Legiſlatures of the reſpective kingdoms, by which the ſuperintending power and ſupremacy of Great Britain in all matters of ſtate and general commerce, will be virtually and effectually acknowledged; that a ſhare

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of the expenſe in carrying on a defenſive or offenſive war, either in ſupport of our own dominions, or thoſe of our allies, ſhall be borne by Ireland in proportion to the actual ſtate of her abilities, and that ſhe will adopt every ſuch regulation as may be judged neceſſary by Great Britain for the better ordering and ſecuring her trade and commerce with foreign nations, or her own colonies and dependencies, conſideration being duly had to the circumſtances of Ireland. I am flattered with the moſt poſitive aſſurances from — — — and — — — of their ſupport in carrying ſuch a Bill through both Houſes of Parliament, and I think it moſt adviſable to bring it to perfection at the preſent moment."— And I happen to know from an official quarter, that the ſketch of ſuch an Act of Parliament was then drawn—I know the Gentleman who framed it, and I know from the ſame quarter that blank and blank, and blank and blank, did unequivocally ſignify their approbation of it.

It may well be ſuppoſed that this communication was received with the ſatisfaction which it demanded by the Britiſh Cabinet. On the 9th of June Lord Shelburne writes to the Duke of Portland in anſwer to his laſt diſpatch:—"The contents of your Grace's letter of the 6th inſt. are too important to heſitate about detaining the meſſenger, whilſt I aſſure your Grace of the ſatisfaction which I know your letter will give the

King. I have lived in the moſt anxious expectation of ſome ſuch meaſure offering itſelf: nothing prevented my preſſing it in this diſpatch, except having repeatedly ſtated the juſt expectations of this country, I was apprehenſive of giving that the air of demand, which would be better left to a voluntary ſpirit of juſtice and foreſight. No matter who has the merit, let the two kingdoms be one, which can only be by Ireland now acknowledging the ſuperintending power and ſupremacy to be where nature has placed it, in preciſe and unambiguous terms. I am ſure I need not inculcate to your Grace the importance of words in an act which muſt decide on the happineſs of ages, particularly in what regards contribution and trade, ſubjects moſt likely to come into frequent queſtion."

This bright proſpect of peace and happineſs was, however, very ſoon clouded; for on the 22d of June the Duke of Portland writes to Lord Shelburne:—"The diſappointment and mortification I ſuffer by the unexpected change in thoſe diſpoſitions which had authorized me to entertain the hopes I had perhaps too ſanguinely expreſſed in my letter of the 6th, muſt not prevent me from acquainting you, that for the preſent theſe expectations muſt be given up: I truſt and am inclined to flatter myſelf they are only ſuſpended, and that they will be revived when the temper

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of this country has recovered its tone, and acquired that degree of compoſure, which muſt give it the firmneſs neceſſary for effectuating ſo wiſe and ſalutary a meaſure. By the accounts of the events of theſe three or four days, and by the timidity and jealouſy of the firſt people in this country, it is clear that any injudicious or offenſive meaſure may be prevented, but that any attempt to conciliate the minds of this nation to any ſuch meaſure as I intimated the hope of, would at this moment be deluſive and impoſſible."

To us who were eye-witneſſes of the tranſactions of that day, this ſudden change of diſpoſition is perfectly intelligible. Mr. Flood had ſtarted his political curioſity of ſimple repeal. In the interval between the time of promiſed ſupport of a treaty for final imperial adjuſtment, and this ſudden change of diſpoſition of which the Duke of Portland had ſo much reaſon to complain, he had contrived to turn the tide of popular clamour againſt his political rivals, and they were alarmed, leſt, in the diſcuſſion of the treaty, he might play the game againſt them, which they played in 1785 againſt the Iriſh nation; by miſtating and miſrepreſenting it, as a ſurrender of Iriſh dignity and independence, and an inſidious reclamation by the Britiſh Cabinet of the legiſlative authority of the Britiſh Parliament. And thus were the

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peace and happineſs of ages, the clear intereſts of Great Britain and Ireland, and their laſting connexion, ſacrificed to the timidity and jealouſy of the patriot ſtateſmen of 1782, or rather to their corrupt love of a flimſy and precarious popularity. Let them have grace now to hide their heads, and not to talk of Final Adjuſtment.

But before I diſmiſs this Adjuſtment of 1782, I ſhall take leave to advert to the deſcription given by the Gentleman who is called the father of it, of the ſponſors of its finality: it is contained in his valedictory Addreſs to his conſtituents of the metropolis at the expiration of the laſt Parliament: "The greater part of the Iriſh Boroughs were creations by the Houſe of Stewart, for the avowed purpoſe of modelling and ſubverting the Parliamentary conſtitution of Ireland; theſe are underſtated when they are called abuſes in the conſtitution; they were groſs and monſtrous violations, recent and wicked innovations, and fatal uſurpations in the conſtitution, by Kings whoſe family löſt their kingdom for crimes leſs deadly to freedom, and who in their Star-chamber tyranny, in their court of High Commiſſion, in their ſhip-money, or in their diſpenſing power, did not commit an act ſo diabolical in intention, ſo mortal in principle, or ſo radically ſubverſive of the fundamental rights of the realm, as the fabrication of Boroughs; which

is the fabrication of a Court Parliament, and the exclusion of a constitutional Commons, and which is a subversion, not of the fundamental laws, but of the constitutional lawgiver. You banish that family for other acts, but you retain that act by which you have banished the Commons. The birth of the Borough inundation was the destruction of liberty and property. James I. who made that inundation, by that means destroyed the titles of his Irish subjects to their lands; the robbery of his liberty was followed by the robbery of his property. This King had an instrument more subtile and more pliable than the sword, and against the liberty of the subject more cold and deadly, a Court instrument, that palls itself in the covering of the constitution, and in her own colours and in her name, plants the dagger,—*a Borough Parliament*. This fabric of Boroughs, like a regal Pandemonium, constitutes a regal House of Commons." It is not a little singular that this Gentleman has accepted a gift of fifty thousand pounds from this same regal Pandemonium; and it is to be hoped that if his benefactors had merited one tenth of his maledictions, he will have the justice to bring back the gift, principal and interest, into the Exchequer. I am almost ashamed to dwell upon this topic of Final Adjustment, and shall refer the House only to the comment of one other of the parties to it. Mr. Fox, a leading

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member of the Britiſh Cabinet in 1782, on the 22d of June 1785, in one of his ſpeeches againſt the Commercial Propoſitions, declares, that no commercial regulation had been intended by the Adminiſtration of 1782, in propoſing the ſecond reſolution on the Iriſh Addreſs: "There were," he ſaid, "at that time certainly ſome regulations wanting between the two countries, which were to extend to political objects alone, and not to commercial: they went to eſtabliſh what was much wanted, ſomething to replace that power, which, in their ſtruggles for independence, the Iriſh had imprudently inſiſted on having aboliſhed, and which he had given up, in compliance with the ſtrong current of prejudice of that nation, though with a reluctance which nothing but irreſiſtible neceſſity could have overcome. The power which he wiſhed to have ſeen replaced, was that which had ſo often been of late under diſcuſſion in the Parliament, and which had been variouſly termed, ſometimes called commercial, at other times external, and frequently imperial legiſlation. That power being precipitately aboliſhed, ſome ſuccedaneum ſhould be found for it; for without one general ſuperintending authority, to embrace and comprehend the whole ſyſtem of the navigation of the empire, it muſt neceſſarily happen that much confuſion and great inconvenience will take place."

But let me admit, in contradiction to these damning proofs, that this was considered by both countries as a final adjustment. If practice and experience have proved that it has sowed the seeds of ceaseless contention and periodical rebellion, is there a principle of sound policy or common sense to preclude a revision of it?

Waving for a moment the dignity and independence of imperial Ireland, let me see how her government in its present state of connexion with Great Britain must be administered. We admit the dependance of the Crown of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain; but there is a distinct Parliament in each country, exercising all legislative functions without restriction. The unity and dependance of our executive is unquestioned, but all legislative authority in either country is denied to the other, not only in municipal regulations, but in every branch of imperial policy, whether of trade and navigation, of peace and war, of revenue, or of the executive government, when it may happen to be committed to a Regency. Between two countries equal in power, such a connexion could not subsist for one hour; and therefore its existence must depend upon the admitted inferiority and marked subordination of one of them. Ireland is that inferior country; and call her constitution independent

pendent or dignified, or by any other high-ſounding title in the Iriſh vocabulary, hers muſt be a provincial government, and of the worſt deſcription; a government maintained not by the avowed exerciſe of legitimate authority, but by a permanent and commanding influence of the Engliſh executive in the councils of Ireland, as a neceſſary ſubſtitute for it. In the preſent ſtate of connexion between Great Britain and Ireland there can be no other bond of their union. If there be not an implicit concurrence by Ireland in every imperial act of the Crown which has the ſanction of the Britiſh Parliament, and in every article of Britiſh legiſlation upon imperial ſubjects, there is an end of your connexion with the Britiſh nation; and I repeat, that the only ſecurity which can by poſſibility exiſt for this national concurrence, is a permanent and commanding influence of the Engliſh Executive, or rather of the Engliſh Cabinet, in the councils of Ireland. Such a connexion is formed, not for mutual ſtrength and ſecurity, but for mutual debility; it is a connexion of diſtinct minds and diſtinct intereſts, generating national diſcontent and jealouſy, and perpetuating faction and miſgovernment in the inferior country. The firſt obvious diſadvantage to Ireland is, that in every department of the ſtate, every other conſideration muſt yield to Parliamentary power; let the miſconduct

miſconduct of any public officer be what it may, if he is ſupported by a powerful Parliamentary intereſt, he is too ſtrong for the King's Repreſentative. A majority in the Parliament of Great Britain will defeat the Miniſter of the day; but a majority of the Parliament of Ireland againſt the King's government, goes directly to ſeparate this kingdom from the Britiſh Crown. If it continues, ſeparation or war is the inevitable iſſue; and therefore it is, that the general executive of the empire, ſo far as is eſſential to retain Ireland as a member of it, is completely at the mercy of the Iriſh Parliament: and it is vain to expect, ſo long as man continues to be a creature of paſſion and intereſt, that he will not avail himſelf of the critical and difficult ſituation in which the executive government of this kingdom muſt ever remain, under its preſent conſtitution, to demand the favours of the Crown, not as the reward of loyalty and ſervice, but as the ſtipulated price, to be paid in advance, for the diſcharge of a public duty.—Every unprincipled and noiſy adventurer who can achieve the means of putting himſelf forward, commences his political career on an avowed ſpeculation of profit and loſs; and if he fails to negotiate his political job, will endeavour to extort it by faction and ſedition, and with unbluſhing effrontery to faſten his own corruption on the King's Miniſters. Engliſh influence is the inexhauſtible

hauſtible theme for popular irritation and diſtruſt of every factious and diſcontented man who fails in the ſtruggle to make himſelf the neceſſary inſtrument of it.—Am I then juſtified, in ſtating that our preſent connexion with Great Britain, is in its nature formed for mutual debility; that it muſt continue to generate national diſcontent and jealouſy, and perpetuate faction and miſgovernment in Ireland? I will now ſtate with equal confidence that our preſent connexion is formed for periodical Iriſh rebelliions, ſo often as Great Britain is engaged in a foreign war.

It is a fact of public notoriety, that on the acknowledgment of Iriſh independence in 1782, the firſt ſtep taken by ſome gentlemen of this country, who have been in the habit of conſidering the Iriſh nation as their political inheritance, was to make it a muniment of their title, by forming a political confederacy offenſive and defenſive in both countries. The baſis of this alliance was, mutual engagement to play the independence of Ireland againſt their political antagoniſts whenever they happened to occupy the ſeat of power; and, if I am to judge by the conduct of the parties principally concerned up to this hour, to foment turbulence and faction in Ireland even to open rebellion, if it ſhould be found neceſſary to the removal of an obnoxious Britiſh adminiſtration.—In proſecution of this very laud-

able ſyſtem, it became an eſſential object of the confederacy to guard againſt any ſettlement between Great Britain and Ireland, which might cut off the moſt obvious ſources of mutual jealouſy and diſcontent; and the addreſs with which this was effected in 1789, will remain a memorable example of the virtues and talents of gentlemen, who had the merit of baffling the commercial treaty of that day. The principal articles of it had been firſt propoſed in the Iriſh Parliament, and ſent over to Great Britain for the concurrence of the Parliament of that country. The Britiſh merchants and manufacturers inſtantly took the alarm. They crowded to the bar of the Britiſh Houſe of Commons with petitions againſt the Iriſh Propoſitions, as calculated to transfer the wealth and induſtry and population of Great Britain to this country. Parliament however had the wiſdom and firmneſs to withſtand this groundleſs clamour, and the propoſitions ſent from Ireland were in ſubſtance agreed to. One article of the treaty was, that the precarious grant to Ireland in 1779, of a right to trade with the Britiſh colonies and plantations, ſhould be confirmed and made perpetual. And in the courſe of debate it was objected, and with great reaſon, that Ireland being an independent kingdom, there was no ſecurity for her adopting the regulations made by Great Britain, of her trade and navigation

gation with these same colonies and plantations. To obviate this objection, an article was proposed by Great Britain for our adoption, stipulating that so long as Ireland continued to trade with the British colonies and plantations, she would adopt the regulations of trade and navigation imposed by the British Parliament on British subjects in carrying on the same trade, and that whenever Ireland did not choose so to do, for so much the treaty should be at an end. Instantly the members in the British Parliament who had theretofore opposed the treaty, as being exclusively beneficial to this country, shifted their ground; they became the loudest champions of Irish independence, and resisted this article, of which they were in effect the authors, as an infringement of our recently acquired free constitution, and an insidious attempt to reclaim the legislative supremacy of Great Britain.

I have been informed from authority which I cannot doubt, that this curiosity was struck out by a Gentleman of distinguished ability, a native of this country, who has long been a member of the British House of Commons; and that when he first stated it to the party with whom he acted, they reprobated the deception as too gross even for Irish dupery. He told them, "I know my countrymen, and be assured they will swallow the bait."

The event has fully eſtabliſhed his ſagacity and intimate knowledge of his countrymen; the Iriſh gudgeon did ſwallow the bait, plain and palpable as it was. Periſh the empire—live the conſtitution! was the theme of Iriſh dignity of that day: a ſpecies of ſurvivorſhip not altogether intelligible to a man of plain underſtanding; but the jargon was received with general and enthuſiaſtic acclamation, as a ſublime effuſion of Iriſh eloquence, and unanſwerable proof of Britiſh duplicity. Will any man be found at this day to believe, that the forward characters in this Iriſh farce were duped by their Britiſh connexions? No. The ſolid intereſts of Great Britain and Ireland, and the fair foundation of their permanent connexion, were ſacrificed on the altar of Faction; and in leſs than three years from the period of boaſted final adjuſtment, did imperial Ireland come to a breach with the Britiſh nation, on the important imperial queſtion of trade and navigation. Within the next four years a new imperial queſtion aroſe, the moſt critical and important which could have come into diſcuſſion; a queſtion of the identity of the executive power; and here again imperial Ireland came to a breach with the Britiſh nation, marked by virulent hoſtility. It had pleaſed God to afflict our good and beloved King with a malady, which induced a momentary diſability in the perſonal exerciſe of his royal functions. The Parliament of Great Britain,

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to whom this great public calamity was announced almoſt immediately after it had been viſited on the Britiſh empire, proceeded with becoming deliberation to provide for the exerciſe of the royal functions, during their ſuſpenſion in the perſon of the Sovereign; and whilſt their deliberations depended, the Parliament of Ireland met. I was then a member of the Houſe of Commons, and ſpeak now from my knowledge of their proceeding. On the 5th of February 1789, this calamity was announced to the Lords and Commons by the Marquis of Buckingham, in a ſpeech from the throne; and on the next day many voluminous documents, explaining the nature and extent of it, were, by his command, laid on the table of the Houſe of Commons. It was propoſed, that an interval of ten days ſhould be allowed for conſideration; and that the Houſe ſhould reſolve itſelf into a Committee on the 16th of February, to take into conſideration the ſtate of the nation. This propoſition, however, was negatived by a majority nearly of fifty, and the Committee was ordered to ſit on the 11th. The documents on which they profeſſed to ground their deliberations, were printed by order, and were delivered to the members wet from the preſs, as they entered the Houſe of Commons on the 11th, the day on which the Committee ſat. I preſſed in vain for an adjournment, even of one day, that ſome appearance of decency might be kept up upon a ſub-

ject ſo ſerious and ſolemn; and being over-ruled, I deſired that the printed documents might be read by the Clerk of the Committee at the table.—This could not be refuſed; but ſuch was the noiſe and confuſion that prevailed when he ſet about to read the evidence on which the deliberations of the Britiſh Parliament were at that moment engaged, that I gave it up, and the Committee proceeded to ſettle this momentous queſtion, without a tittle of evidence before them, on which they could be ſuppoſed to found a parliamentary proceeding. Before their adjournment, however, they came to two reſolutions:—Firſt, That the perſonal exerciſe of the royal authority was interrupted, for the preſent, by His Majeſty's indiſpoſition: and, ſecond, That an humble addreſs ſhould be preſented to His Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, to requeſt of him to take upon himſelf the government of this kingdom during His Majeſty's indiſpoſition, under the ſtyle and title of Prince Regent of Ireland. The Committee made their report the ſame night; and it was inſtantly received and agreed to. The next day the addreſs was voted by the Houſe of Commons, and ſent up to the Lords for their concurrence; and thus within ſix days from the time when this moſt momentous queſtion was firſt ſubmitted to the Commons of Ireland, did they diſpoſe of it, without a ſemblance of decency or deliberation, and in direct violation of the law. The addreſs under-

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went ſome ſlight alteration in this Houſe, and was brought up to the King's Repreſentative on the 18th of February by both Houſes, for tranſmiſſion to His Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales. When Lord Buckingham informed them, "That under the impreſſions which he felt of public duty, and of the oath of office he had taken, he was obliged to decline tranſmitting their addreſs into Great Britain, not conceiving himſelf warranted to lay before the Prince of Wales an addreſs purporting to inveſt His Royal Highneſs with powers to take upon him the government of this realm, before he ſhall by law be enabled ſo to do," the Commons were pleaſed to take fire at this refuſal, which they treated as an inſult to their dignity, and proceeded to aſſert it, by ſelecting four very worthy Gentlemen as parliamentary commiſſioners for preſenting their addreſs, who on their arrival at the city of London found they were bearers of a fool's meſſage, and by voting what they called a cenſure on the King's Repreſentative; but what I ſhall always conſider as a very honourable mark of diſtinction to him for not ſacrificing his allegiance, and violating his oath of office in compliment to their paſſion and folly, they reſolved, "That in addreſſing His Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales to take upon him the government of this country, the Lords and Commons of Ireland have exerciſed an undoubted right, and diſcharged an indiſpenſable duty, to which they

only are competent." And further, "That his Excellency's anſwer to both Houſes of Parliament is ill-adviſed, contains an unwarranted and unconſtitutional cenſure on the proceedings of both Houſes of Parliament, and attempts to queſtion the undoubted rights and privileges of the Lords and Commons of Ireland." It ſo happened, that the Lord Lieutenant's Secretary received his diſpatches in the Houſe of Commons, during the ſenſible and temperate debate upon theſe reſolutions; and the King's convaleſcence was announced in the London Gazette, under the authority of Doctor Warren, who was not the moſt ſanguine of His Majeſty's phyſicians, as having taken place on the 11th of February, the day on which the Iriſh Houſe of Commons had voted the ſuſpenſion of his royal functions; and when I ſhowed this Gazette to the Gentlemen who then compoſed the Iriſh government, with a recommendation to them at leaſt to ſuſpend the miſſion of their commiſſioners, I have a perfect recollection that ſome of them accuſed me of producing a forged Gazette.

Let me appeal to every ſober member of the community, whether this country can ever recover this ſhock to her ſecurity, under the preſent form of her connexion? You have here recorded on the Journals of Parliament a broad precedent for ſeparation. Nay, if the proceedings of the Iriſh Parlia-

Parliament can be ſuppoſed to have any thing of validity in them, you were for ſome weeks in a ſtate of actual ſeparation from Great Britain. I can aſſert with perfect confidence, that for ſeveral weeks the authority of the Britiſh Crown was not acknowledged in Ireland.

The authors of this enormity aſſert, in extenuation of their conduct, that their choice fell upon the ſame perſonage whom it was known the Britiſh Parliament would, of neceſſity, look to in the exiſting emergency; but if Ireland has a choice, the principle of ſeparation is eſtabliſhed, and the principle not only ſtands broadly aſſerted on the Journals of Parliament, but has been acted upon by two branches of the Legiſlature. If Ireland has a choice of her regency during any fortuitous incapacity attached to the Crown, that choice may fall hereafter on a French or an Iriſh Conſul; and when we look at the further extravagancies of the Houſe of Commons in 1789, it is by no means an impoſſible event. The ſupplies for that year had been voted in Committee for the ordinary period, to the 25th of March 1790; but before the Report of the Committees of Supply and Ways and Means, His Majeſty's recovery was announced; the Mutiny Bill had alſo been agreed to in the Committee for the ordinary term of one year; and what was the

offering

offering of duty by the Iriſh Commons to greet their Sovereign on his recovery? A ſtinted Bill of Supply, and a ſtinted Mutiny Bill. So long as the ſelf-created government conſidered itſelf eſtabliſhed, the chiefs who compoſed it were willing to accept the ſupplies and maintain the army; but the moment they found their Sovereign reſtored to his people, they ſtinted the ſupply to two months, and ſtinted the Mutiny Bill to the ſame period; and this was done by the Houſe of Commons, in conſequence of the King's recovery; the reſolutions of the Committee of Supply were altered, as was the Mutiny Bill, on the Report, for the avowed purpoſe of controlling the Crown in the juſt exerciſe of its vital prerogatives. Let the people of Ireland, who are taught to look with abhorrence on the Parliament of Great Britain, contraſt this proceeding with the conduct of the Houſe of Commons, on the change which took place in the Adminiſtration in 1783. The Miniſters who had been juſt put out of office, had a decided majority in the Houſe of Commons. Was any man found in the Britiſh Parliament to make a propoſition to withhold or ſtint the ſupplies? No.—In the warmth of political animoſity, the Commons of Great Britain felt their paramount duty to the Britiſh nation. In Ireland, the peace and honour of the kingdom were ſacrificed, without feeling or remorſe, to vindictive ambition and rapacity; and to the ſcandal and diſ-

grace

grace of the Irish nation, the authors of these enormities long escaped public and general reprobation; but the influence of the Irish precedent on our connexion with the British Crown, never can be repaired, and when looked to in the full extent of its mischief, ought to make every sober man in the community shudder for his safety under the existing constitution. The bond of Union, if it exists, arises from two Irish statutes—the Act of Annexation of Henry VIII. and the Act of Recognition of William and Mary; one an Act of the Colonial Parliament, the other an Act of the Borough Parliament, or, in the phrase of revolution, of the Regal Pandæmonium. Is it even an improbable event, that in some future convulsion of party, the House of Commons may be persuaded to think, as the City of Dublin has been tutored, that the dependance of our Executive on the British Crown is the worst condition of slavery:—"That in the legislative usurpation of the British Parliament, the greatness of the tyrant qualified the condition of the slave, but that, by their dependance on the British Crown, the people are prostrate to the legislative usurpation of another body—a British Cabinet, a humiliated and a tame tyrant!" And is it an improbable event, that, to shake off this tyranny, a Bill of Repeal of the Acts of Annexation and Recognition, making a distinct settlement of the Irish Crown on the House of Hanover, may come up

up to this Houſe in a future Parliament, attended by a ſtinted Bill of Supply and a ſtinted Mutiny Bill! Every argument in favour of Iriſh dignity and independence, which prevailed in the appointment of an Iriſh Regency in 1789, will apply with equal force to a diſtinct ſettlement of the Iriſh Crown; and the objection of ſeparation will be anſwered by the Iriſh ſettlement of the Crown upon the auguſt and illuſtrious Houſe of the Britiſh Monarch. If I am told that the good ſenſe and diſcretion of any future Houſe of Commons will afford full protection againſt ſuch an extravagance, I will anſwer, The precedent of 1789 has taught me to appreciate the ſecurity. I make no ſcruple to avow, that when I look back to the events of the laſt twenty years, I ſhould feel moſt happy to commit my country to the ſober diſcretion of the Britiſh Parliament, even though we had not a ſingle repreſentative in it. Let the people of Great Britain be taught to underſtand the ſolid intereſts of Ireland, and I have no fear that they will not attend to them.

It might reaſonably have been expected that the Gentlemen who took upon them the office of Miniſters of the Iriſh people in 1782, and now aſſert the final adjuſtment of conſtitutional queſtions at that period, would have exerciſed their functions with fidelity, and definitively have ſettled the government of the country; but on the

diſmiſſion of ſome of them from the King's ſervice after His Majeſty's recovery, a new conſtitutional budget was produced. When the confidence of the Crown was withdrawn from theſe Gentlemen, their pereception was ſharpened, and a ſecond conſtitutional project was brought forward, not compoſed of the preſent eſſentials of Liberty, Reform and Emancipation, but what the party called the internal reform of the Houſe of Commons, the perfect aſſimilation of the Iriſh to the Engliſh conſtitution. The means to attain this deſirable end were ſpecifically ſtated, a limitation of the penſion liſt—an excluſion of penſioners from the Houſe of Commons—a reſtriction of placemen who ſhould ſit there—a reſponſibility for the receipt and iſſue of the public treaſure; and the better to effectuate theſe great national objects, a Whig Club was announced in a manifeſto, ſigned and counterſigned, charging the Britiſh government, as James I. has ſince been charged, with a deliberate and ſyſtematic intention of ſapping the liberties, and ſubverting the Parliament of Ireland. All perſons of congenial character and ſentiment were invited to range under the Whig banner, for the eſtabliſhment and protection of the Iriſh conſtitution, on the model of the Revolution of 1688; and under this banner was ranged ſuch a motley collection of congenial characters, as never before were aſſembled for the reformation of the ſtate. Mr. Napper Tandy

was received by acclamation, as a ſtateſman too important and illuſtrious to be committed to the hazard of a ballot. Mr. Hamilton Rowan alſo repaired to the Whig banner. Unfortunately, the political career of theſe Gentlemen has been arreſted: Mr. Tandy's by an attainder of felony, and an attainder of treaſon: Mr. Hamilton Rowan's by an attainder of treaſon. The Whig Secretary, if he does not ſtand in the ſame predicament, is now a priſoner at the mercy of the Crown, on his own admiſſion of his treaſons, and if I do not miſtake, the whole ſociety of Iriſh Whigs have been admitted, *ad eundem*, by their Whig brethren of England. In the fury of political reſentment, ſome Noblemen and Gentlemen of the firſt rank in this country ſtooped to aſſociate with the refuſe of the community, men whoſe principles they then held in abhorrence, and whoſe manners and deportment muſt always have excited their diſguſt. Unfortunately for the cauſe of diſcontent, the ſervants of the Crown in both countries outbid the Whigs of 1789; in conceſſion, a Place Bill and a Penſion Bill were agreed to; the office of High Treaſurer was put into commiſſion; and the Britiſh Parliament repealed the Act, by which Britiſh ports were ſhut againſt the importation of articles the growth or produce of the Britiſh plantations, from Ireland; and perhaps a freſh ſupply of grievances might have been wanting to meet theſe conceſſions,

ceſſions, if an improvement had not been made on the Whig inſtitution, by an avowed Jacobin ſociety, who aſſumed the title of United Iriſhmen. And to this ſociety we are indebted for the modern eſſentials of Liberty, Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation: topics firſt invented for rebellion, and ſince warmly taken up by ſome Gentlemen who have contrived to identify their principles with the cauſe, without expoſing their perſons to the dangers of treaſon.

With reſpect to the old code of the Popery Laws, there cannot be a doubt that it ought to have been repealed. It was impoſſible that any country could continue to exiſt under a code, by which a majority of its inhabitants were cut off from the rights of property. But in the relaxation of theſe laws there was a fatal error. It ſhould have been taken up ſyſtematically by the Miniſters of the Crown, and not left in the hands of every individual who choſe to take poſſeſſion of it, as an engine of power or popularity. This, however, was done; and before the ſubject attracted the notice of the ſervants of the Crown, the Popery Laws were unequivocally repealed ſo far as they affected the rights of property, were relaxed in every clauſe of intolerance which affected the Popiſh worſhip; and the profeſſion of the law was opened to perſons of the Popiſh religion without qualification or reſtriction. In 1792, a giddy

giddy young man, now no more, was brought over here from England by the Catholic Committee as their avowed agent; who immediately after his arrival commenced a warm canvaſs of the members of both Houſes of Parliament for the political intereſts of his clients, and in the courſe of this canvaſs I can ſtate, from my own knowledge, his great argument was, an unequivocal offer of the ſervices of his clients, to men whoſe ſtations naturally gave them ſome weight in the public councils, to eſtabliſh their political power on a baſis not to be ſhaken, if they would put themſelves at the head of the Catholic body. At the ſame period their ultimatum was ſtated by their general Committee, in reſolutions dated 4th February 1792, ſigned Edward Byrne, and counterſigned Richard M'Cormick, Secretary; I will ſtate them as publiſhed by authority of the Catholic Committee; they are moſt material to illuſtrate ſome ſubſequent events:—"Reſolved, That the Committee has been informed, that reports have been circulated, that the application of the Catholics for relief extends to total and unlimited emancipation:—That therefore we think it neceſſary to declare, that the whole of our late application, whether to His Majeſty's Miniſters, or to men in power, or to private members of the Legiſlature, neither did, nor does contain any thing more, either in ſubſtance or in principle, than the four following objects:

"Firſt,

"First. Admiſſion to the profeſſion and practice of the law.

"Second. Capacity to ſerve on county magiſtracies.

"Third. A right to be ſummoned and to ſerve on grand and petit juries.

"Fourth. The right of voting in counties only for Proteſtant Members of Parliament; in ſuch a manner, however, as that a Roman Catholic freeholder ſhould not vote, unleſs he either rents or cultivates a farm of twenty pounds per annum, in addition to his forty ſhillings freehold, or elſe ſhall be in poſſeſſion of a freehold of twenty pounds a year."

In the ſeſſion of that year two petitions were preferred to the Houſe of Commons by the Catholic Committee, ſtating theſe as their ultimate claims of relief. The firſt was couched in terms of ſo much violence and indecorum, that the Gentleman who preſented it, aſked as a perſonal favour to himſelf, that he might be allowed to withdraw it. The ſecond petition was drawn in terms of decency and reſpect; but the great parliamentary declaimers had not then ſeen the new light of emancipation, and the petition was rejected by the Commons: on a diviſion the numbers were

two

two hundred and twenty-eight to twenty-five. I have been well informed that a propoſition had been made at that time by Mr. Hamilton Rowan to the Whig inſtitution, to adopt the cauſe of emancipation, and when he was informed it could not be, he declared he would preſent his Whig uniform to the waiter, who ſtood behind him, as a perſon beſt fitted for it. In the next year, at the opening of the ſeſſion, a recommendation was made to both Houſes of Parliament from the throne, in His Majeſty's name, to take into conſideration the ſituation of his Catholic ſubjects; and a Bill was brought into the Houſe of Commons by the Lord Lieutenant's Secretary, by which every privilege claimed for the Catholics by their Committee, as containing in ſubſtance or principle their ultimate objects, was granted to them; the franchiſe of voting at elections was conferred without reſtriction, and in addition, they were enabled to hold every office, civil and military, under the Crown, with the exception of about forty, without taking the oaths, or ſubſcribing the declaration, as required from every other claſs of the King's ſubjects. This Bill paſſed into a law, and from that time there has not been a civil diſability of any deſcription by which a Papiſt or Roman Catholic in this kingdom is *eo nomine* affected, ſaving a reſtriction in the uſe of fire-arms, extending only to the loweſt order of their body, a reſtriction which I ſhould be happy to ſee extended to Proteſtants of the ſame claſs;

claſs; and the Teſt Laws, which remain in full force with reſpect to Proteſtants, have been very conſiderably relaxed in favour of the Catholic body.

In a reſolution of the Catholics, publiſhed by order of their General Committee, the 9th of Dec. 1792—ſigned Edward Shiel, and counter-ſigned Richard M'Cormick—complaint is made "That the Catholics of Ireland, conſtituting three fourths of the inhabitants of the country, had not influence to induce any one Member of Parliament to patronize their petition." But when their claims were taken up by the King's Miniſters, their old perſecutors inſtantly became apoſtles of emancipation; and in the race for popularity, would not be left behind on a popular queſtion. The conceſſions made to the Catholic demands in 1793, were then, for the firſt time, ſupported by the Whigs of 1789; but in the courſe of debate nothing more than obſcure hints and oracular ambiguity was thrown out on the ſubject of unqualified emancipation; and the Catholic body remained quiet and contented with the favours conferred upon them. If they looked to farther indulgence, they were ſatisfied to try the effects of time, temper, and negotiation; and would have continued contented and quiet, if they had not been brought forward as an engine of faction on a change of the Iriſh government

in 1795. Of Lord Fitzwilliam I ſhall never ſpeak or think with any feeling but of a warm and unfeigned perſonal reſpect, and have only to lament, that he placed unbounded confidence in ſome Gentlemen, of whom he falſely judged by his own pure and honourable mind. It is now aſcertained that he came to Ireland with full inſtructions not to encourage the agitation of any further claims on the part of the Iriſh Catholics; perhaps I might be juſtified in ſtating that his inſtructions were to keep it back, but his name and authority were abuſed to force the Catholic body to come forward, as the engine of political intrigue, and, in contradiction to their recent declaration by the organ of their General Committee in 1792, to demand the repeal of every law by which they were excluded from political power. Lord Fitzwilliam took poſſeſſion of his government on the 4th of Jan. 1795; and it is a fact of public notoriety, that at meetings held from the 15th to the 23d of December, with Mr. Edward Byrne and others of their leaders, the Catholic body were brought forward under plighted engagements of ſupport from the new government. An addreſs to Lord Fitzwilliam in the name of their body was voted; and at the front of the Committee appointed to greet the King's Repretative, under the auſpices of his ſelf avowed Miniſter, ſtand the names of Dr. William James M'Neven, Mr. John Sweetman, and Mr. Richard M'Cormick, all of them ſelf-convicted traitors.

traitors. Mr. M'Neven has very candidly acknowledged that Catholic emancipation was always a mere pretence, and that if he and the worthy Gentlemen with whom he acted, had been enabled to ſucceed in their projects, they would as ſoon have eſtabliſhed the Mahometan as the Popiſh religion. It was originally a pretence for rebellion, and is now a powerful engine of faction, wielded in both countries againſt the peace and happineſs of Ireland; an engine which has already ſhaken your government to its foundation, and cannot fail to level it with the duſt, if we are to continue in a ſtate of ſeparation from the Britiſh nation. It is the common topic of diſcontent and irritation to rally the old inhabitants of this iſland to the ſtandard of faction in both countries, a topic which in its nature will remain an inexhauſtible ſource of popular ferment in Ireland. Repeal your Teſt Laws, and Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, the rich eſtabliſhments of the Proteſtant church remain a prominent object of attack to the apoſtles of emancipation; make partition of your Church eſtabliſhments with the Popiſh clergy, and they will have to demand a formal recognition of the laws of their Church; and when every other point has been yielded, an apoſtle of ſedition will not be wanting, in the fulneſs of human arrogance and preſumption, to propoſe a repeal of God's holy commandment, and to proclaim the worſhip

of graven images in your ſtreets and highways. What is the leſſon of peace and good-will inculcated by the ſucceſſors of the worthy Gentlemen, who firſt invented this revolutionary weapon?

"Let me adviſe you by no means to poſtpone the conſideration of your fortunes until after the war; ſeize the opportunity of war for fraternal embraces, and great emancipation: your phyſical conſequence exiſts only in a ſtate of ſeparation from England; in a ſtate of ſeparation you are four to one, in a ſtate of union but one to four; and therefore, though your claims ſhould be attended to after Union, you gain nothing, you may as well be units in the ſtreet as units in Parliament. The whole of the interior mechaniſm of emancipation is here fairly expoſed to view, and I wiſh every honeſt member of the community, whether he be Proteſtant or Catholic, who regards the bleſſings of ſocial order, and wiſhes to tranſmit them to his poſterity, to view it with ſober attention, and to decide for himſelf, whether, in the hands of its Iriſh patrons, it points to any other object than Jacobiniſm and Revolution. I wiſh every honeſt member of the community, Proteſtant or Catholic, to decide for himſelf, whether Ireland can ever be at peace until this firebrand is extinguiſhed, and whether a hope exiſts that it can be extinguiſhed, in our preſent ſtate of ſeparation from England. If the Catholics of Ireland are not ſatisfied with the indulgence which they have already experienced,

and are determined to preſs their demands of an unqualified repeal of the Teſt Laws and Act of Supremacy, let them be diſcuſſed upon their ſolid merits in the imperial Parliament, where the queſtion will not be influenced by paſſion and prejudice; where no part of the conſideration will be, that the Catholics of Ireland may retain their phyſical conſequence for the eſtabliſhment of a ſyſtem of periodical rebellion, under the management and direction of Whigs or Tories, or United Iriſhmen, and where it will be gravely and diſpaſſionately conſidered, whether a repeal of theſe laws may be yielded with ſafety to the Britiſh Monarchy; or whether, by adopting the French model, in aboliſhing all religious diſtinctions as connected with the ſtate, we ſhall lay the corner-ſtone of revolution and democracy. My unaltered opinion is, that ſo long as human nature and the Popiſh religion continue to be what I know they are, a conſcientious Popiſh eccleſiaſtic never will become a well-attached ſubject to a Proteſtant ſtate, and that the Popiſh clergy muſt always have a commanding influence on every member of that communion. I put it as an abſtract ſtate-maxim, without regard to the peculiar ſituation of this country, and if experience were wanting, I have it abundantly to confirm me in the juſtice of it: in private life I never inquired into the religion of any man; if he be honeſt and a good Chriſtian, it matters not to me that he may ſubſcribe to articles of faith and diſcipline which

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my reason and understanding reject; but when I am to frame laws for the safety of the state, I do not feel myself at liberty to act upon the virtues of individuals. Laws must be framed to meet and counteract the vicious propensities of human nature.

Upon the second project of Irish liberty, Parliamentary Reform, I shall say no more than barely to state the plan which was submitted to the House of Commons in the Session of 1797—it will speak for itself, and, if I do not much mistake, was offered to that Assembly with an assurance that it met the full approbation of the popular leaders out of doors. In stating this plan I cannot err, for I have an exact copy of the resolutions as they were moved in the House of Commons: they set out by asserting,

"I. That it is indispensably necessary that all disability on account of religion shall cease, and for that purpose, and as a fundamental part of an adequate representation in Parliament, so as to place the constitution on a solid and permanent basis, that Catholics should be admissible into both Houses of Parliament, as well as to all offices of state, as Protestants now are; and that all test laws and oaths preventing the same shall be repealed and abolished for ever.

"II. That it is an ancient and undoubted right of the people of Ireland to be fully and fairly represented in Parliament.

"III.

"III. That, in order to enable the people freely to exercise that right, it is expedient that the privilege of returning members to Parliament in the several cities, counties of towns, and boroughs in the kingdom, shall be divided into districts, containing no less than houses, and that each of the said districts shall return two members to serve in Parliament, and that proper officers shall be appointed to make such divisions.

"IV. That each county shall continue to return representatives as at present.

"V. That all persons possessing a freehold of the clear yearly value of forty shillings—all persons having leases or terms for years to the amount of —all persons having a house of the value of for years in the said cities and towns, and all freemen by birth, marriage, or election, shall be entitled to vote in the several districts in which they are registered.

"VI. That no person holding any office of profit or pension under the Crown, shall be admissible to serve in Parliament, except as hereafter is excepted.

"VII. That the duration of Parliament shall not exceed years."

Upon

Upon this plan of Reform, thus embracing the active citizens of Ireland, I ſhall only obſerve, that the members of the Rebel Iriſh Directory, Meſſrs. Arthur O'Connor, Wm. James M'Neven, and Thomas Emmet, who were examined before the laſt Secret Committee of this Houſe, did declare on their oaths, the perfect ſatisfaction which it give to them, and to the other leaders of the late Rebellion—and certainly moſt unreaſonable traitors they muſt have been if it did not ſatisfy them to their heart's content. In truth, there is ſcarce a ſhade of difference between this plan of Reform and one which had been juſt before promulgated under the authority of the Re-Union. (See APPENDIX.)

I paſs by the rapid progreſs of that rebellious confederacy: the whole of their enormities have been amply detailed in the Reports of the Committees of Secrecy of both Houſes of Parliament, and are freſh in the public recollection: but I ſtate with perfect confidence that the ſeditious and treaſonable conſpiracies which have brought this country to the verge of ruin, are the natural offspring of the Adjuſtment of 1782: the convulſion in 1789 gave birth to the Whig inſtitution: the Rebel confederacy of the Iriſh Union was an improvement upon it; and we now ſee the reliques of the Whig inſtitution in the maſk of Liberty, inculcating the principles, and adopting the means originally deviſed by the rebel

confederacy

confederacy of the Iriſh Union, to abolish the religion, and ſubvert the monarchy of Ireland. What was their conduct in the ſummer of 1796, when it was known with certainty that a powerful French armament was in preparation at Breſt for the ſupport of Iriſh rebellion? when the whole of the northern province was regimented and armed, and the remainder of the country, by the account of Mr. O'Connor, the common and unreſerved friend of the united Whig confederacy, was in a forward ſtate of organization? At this critical period, a Whig Report was publiſhed on the condition of the labouring poor, and circulated in every part of the country with uncommon induſtry, in which that claſs of men are informed, "That on a compariſon of the price of labour with the price of proviſions, it was impoſſible for them to exiſt: That it was impolicy in their employers to ſtarve them, for that one labourer who was fed, would do the work of two who were ſtarved: That the increaſe in the price of labour was neceſſary, not only from the increaſed price of proviſions, but becauſe, within ſome years laſt paſt, the ſalaries of the ſervants of Government have been increaſed not a little, and the pay of the common ſoldiers has been increaſed; and on the ſame principle on which His Majeſty has been adviſed to attend to his forces, we ſhould attend to our fellow-ſubjects: and, That it was moſt extraordinary that

the only order of the people whoſe wages were not increaſed, was that order by whoſe labour and induſtry theſe ſalaries and eſtabliſhments were principally fed." This was the incitement to loyalty and good conduct, held out by the patrons of Iriſh liberty to the phyſical force of the country, then in array for rebellion, and anxiouſly expecting a formidable French armament to ſecond their revolutionary projects. At the ſame alarming criſis theſe ſame patrons of Iriſh liberty endeavoured to baffle the exertion of the King's government in the array of a yeomanry force, by tutoring the old inhabitants of the iſland to hang back, unleſs the revolutionary ſyſtem of Emancipation was firſt eſtabliſhed; and if the arm of God had not, in his unbounded mercy, been ſtretched out to ſave us, Ireland muſt at that tremendous criſis have fallen a ſacrifice to her own madneſs, folly, and wickedneſs.

I will now appeal to every diſpaſſionate man who hears me, whether I have in any thing miſtated or exaggerated the calamitous ſituation of my country, or the coalition of vice and folly which has long undermined her happineſs, and at this hour loudly threatens her exiſtence. It is gravely inculcated, I know, "Let the Britiſh Miniſter leave us to ourſelves, and we are very well as we are." We are very well as we are! Gracious God! of what materials muſt the heart

of that man be compoſed, who knows the ſtate of this country, and will coldly tell us we are very well as we are? We are very well as we are! We have not three years of redemption from bankruptcy or intolerable taxation, nor one hour's ſecurity againſt the renewal of exterminating civil war. We are very well as we are! Look to your ſtatute-book; ſeſſion after ſeſſion have you been compelled to enact laws of unexampled rigour and novelty, to repreſs the horrible exceſſes of the maſs of your people; and the fury of murder, and pillage, and deſolation, have ſo outrun all legiſlative exertion, that you have been at length driven to the hard neceſſity of breaking down the pale of the municipal law, and putting your country under the ban of military government; and in every little circle of dignity and independence, we hear whiſpers of diſcontent at the temperate diſcretion with which it is adminiſtered. We are very well as we are! Look at the old revolutionary government of the Iriſh Union, and the modern revolutionary government of the Iriſh Conſulate, canvaſſing the dregs of that rebel democracy, for a renewal of popular ferment and outrage, to overawe the deliberations of Parliament. We are very well as we are! Look to your civil and religious diſſenſions; look to the fury of political faction, and the torrents of human blood that ſtain the face of your country; and of what materials is that man compoſed, who will not liſten

with patience and good will to any propoſition that can be made to him, for compoſing the diſtractions, and healing the wounds, and alleviating the miſeries of this devoted nation? We are very well as we are! Look to your finances, and I repeat you have not redemption for three years from public bankruptcy, or a burden of taxation which will ſink every gentleman of property in the country.

Perhaps it will occaſion ſome ſurpriſe to hear that the debt of Ireland is now £.25,662,640; and that the annual intereſt and charges upon it amount to £.1,393,753. In ſtating the debt of Ireland, I ſpeak of the capital created, not the money paid into the Exchequer by the public creditor; if I am compelled to borrow money on uſurious terms, my debt is the ſum which I contract to pay, not the ſum which I may happen to have received; and therefore it is a groſs deception, in ſtating the public debt, to take it on any calculation but of the capital for which the nation muſt ſtand ſecurity: the increaſe of debt in the laſt ſeven years has been, principal - - - - - £.23,222,250

Intereſt and charges in the ſame period, increaſe - - - - - } 1,253,278

Of theſe twenty-three millions of increaſe in the capital of your debt during the laſt ſeven years, no leſs a ſum than £.18,580,000 has accumulated in the years 1798, 1799, and 1800: the intereſt

and

and charges in the ſame three years amount to £.878,000; and on recurring to the fluctuations in your debt for the laſt ten years, it will be ſeen to have kept exact pace with the exertions of the friends of Ireland in the cauſe of dignity and independence.

25th of March,	Principal.	Intereſt and Charges.
1791 the debt was	2,442,890	142,716
1792 - - -	2,440,890	142,955
1793 - - -	2,440,390	142,475
1794 - - -	3,113,790	178,495
1795 - - -	4,335,990	255,210
1796 - - -	6,041,856	354,044
1797 - - -	7,012,250	525,044
1798 - - -	11,059,256	767,661
1799 - - -	17,466,540	1,040,120
1800 - - -	25,662,640	1,395,735

In 1793, at the beginning of the war, the debt of Ireland was £.2,440,390; and ſo long as we had none but a foreign enemy to contend with, our war expenſes were ſcarcely one million in the year. In 1795, the debt was £.4,335,990; ſo that during the firſt two years of the war it did not increaſe quite two millions; but the old Iriſh maxim of preſſing forward political claims in times of common danger and calamity, was

again

again inculcated in 1795, a period peculiarly fitted for it; for in that year the French had made themſelves maſters of Brabant, Flanders, and Holland; and the rebel government of United Iriſhmen was pretty well eſtabliſhed. Mr. Oliver Bond and Mr. Nelſon ſtated before the Secret Committee of this Houſe, that the military organization of the province of Ulſter was completed on the 1ſt of May 1795, and had got into a ſtate of forwardneſs in the other provinces before the end of that year; it was therefore found neceſſary to increaſe the military force of the country, for mere internal defence, againſt a confederacy of foreign and domeſtic enemies; and accordingly, in the year ended at Lady-day 1796, our war expenſes were double what they had been in either of the preceding years; and at every ſubſequent period they have progreſſively increaſed with the growth of faction and rebellion, until we were obliged, in defence of our own exiſtence, to increaſe the public debt in the laſt year nearly ſix millions and a half, and in this year above eight millions. And this expenſe muſt neceſſarily continue, not to enable Ireland to contribute to offenſive war, but to keep down the brutal fury of the maſs of the Iriſh people, who have been goaded to madneſs by every wicked artifice that diſappointed faction can deviſe, and to protect the country from foreign

invaſion,

invaſion, openly ſolicited by a gang of Iriſh traitors, who have connected themſelves with the rulers of the French Republic; and if we are to continue this ſcale of expenſe for the next three years, a revenue of two millions four hundred and thirty thouſand pounds muſt be raiſed for payment of the intereſt of the public debt alone, or public bankruptcy will neceſſarily enſue.

Let us now ſee what is the preſent ſtate of our revenue. In the laſt year the net revenue of Ireland, including the loan fund, was £.1,861,471 only; if it had continued at the ſame amount in this year, the ſurplus, after defraying the intereſt and charges of the debt, would have been under £.466,000 for the ſupport of all your other eſtabliſhments: but if the current quarter keeps up to the produce of the laſt three, your net revenue in this year will be ſomewhat about £.2,700,000. A conſiderable portion, however, of the great increaſe in the revenues of this year has been adventitious. During the rebellion importation was checked, the deficiency has of courſe come into this year's account; and there has been an unuſual importation of Portugal wines, in conſequence of the apprehenſions of invaſion entertained in that country: and therefore I conſider it to be a ſanguine calculation, that the produce of our preſent revenues is to continue at £.2,500,000.

The

		£.
The capital created by the loan of laſt year is		8,226,100
Intereſt and charges		345,000
1801	Capital	8,226,100
	Intereſt and charges	345,000
1802	Capital	8,226,100
	Intereſt and charges	345,000
1803	Capital	8,226,100
	Intereſt and charges	345,000
	Capital, 3 years	24,678,300
	Intereſt and charges	1,035,000
Preſent debt		25,662,640
Preſent intereſt and charges		1,395,753
Total Capital 1803		50,340,940
Total Intereſt 1803		2,430,753

So that calculating the produce of your preſent revenues to continue at £.2,500,000, there will remain at the end of three years, on your preſent ſcale of expenſe, a ſurplus ſhort of £.70,000 for the whole of the eſtabliſhments, civil and military.

Let

Let me ask, if we remain as we are, how is this enormous deficit to be made up?—Can you raise an additional revenue in Ireland of more than one million, in the present state of our resources, without recurring to a land-tax, or an income-tax, or both? And if recourse be had to land or income, the incumbrance in them must be considerably more than the actual deficit, I should say it could not be much less than two millions. For either tax would inevitably diminish in a great proportion your customs and excise. If we make up the deficit by annual loans, bankruptcy is inevitable. By misapplying the sinking fund, you may postpone the period of insolvency for a year or two, at the expence of a breach of faith with the public creditors; but bankruptcy is the ultimate issue.—I know it is the fashion to say that England has our war expences to answer for—and that our financial difficulties arise from a French war—and a Dutch war—and a Spanish war.—No, our present difficulties arise from an Irish war—a war of faction—a Whig war—and an United Irishman's war—The fluctuation of your debt for the last ten years proves the fact; and if England was at peace at this hour with all the powers of Europe, your establishments would be a melancholy proof of the fact; you would be compelled to maintain a war establishment for defence against your own people. It has been demanded triumphantly how we are to be relieved by Union? I answer first,

we are to be relieved from British and Irish faction, which is the prime source of all our calamities. Next, if we become one people with England, the army of the empire will be employed where it is most wanted for general service; and so long as it is found necessary to garrison every district in Ireland, for the internal safety of the country, the necessary force may be stationed here, without incurring additional expence in either country. And therefore in time of war, we may hope to be relieved from the separate expence entailed upon Ireland by domestic factions; and in peace, it matters not to the general service of the empire, where the army may be quartered. Again—by Union the resources of Ireland must necessarily increase;—if we have but grace to remain in a state of tranquillity for a few years, I have no doubt, our resources would augment most rapidly; if we have but grace to abjure faction, I feel sanguine hope on the restoration of peace, that Ireland will participate in British capital and British industry; and until we can find employment for the poor, and teach them to feel and value the comforts of life, it is vain to expect that they will be reclaimed from barbarism. If you do not qualify the mass of your people for the enjoyment of sober liberty, you will never teach them to appreciate the blessings of it;—every man who feels for human misery, must lament the hard necessity imposed upon the Irish government of

meeting

meeting popular excess, by laws of exemplary severity, and will contribute his best exertions, to rescue the unfortunate victims of delusion, from the depth of misfortune to which they will ever be condemned so long as they are made the instruments of faction, and stimulated to acts of outrage by wicked and inflammatory appeals to their ignorance and incivilization. But we are told by giving up a separate government, and separate parliament, we sacrifice national dignity and independence. If gentlemen who enlarge on this theme, will talk of their personal dignity and aggrandizement, I can understand them; but when I look at the squalid misery, and profound ignorance, and barbarous manners, and brutal ferocity of the mass of the Irish people, I am sickened with this rant of Irish dignity and independence. Is the dignity and independence of Ireland, to consist in the continued depression and unredeemed barbarism of the great majority of the people, and the factious contentions of a puny and rapacious oligarchy, who consider the Irish nation as their political inheritance, and are ready to sacrifice the public peace and happiness to their insatiate love of patronage and power? I hope I feel as becomes a true Irishman, for the dignity and independence of my country, and therefore I would elevate her to her proper station, in the rank of civilized nations. I wish to advance her from the degraded post of a

mercenary province, to the proud station of an integral and governing member of the greatest empire in the world. I wish to withdraw the higher orders of my countrymen from the narrow and corrupted sphere of Irish politics, and to direct their attention to objects of national importance, to teach them to improve the natural energies, and extend the resources of their country, to encourage manufacturing, skill, and ingenuity, and open useful channels for commercial enterprise, and above all seriously to exert their best endeavours to tame and civilize the lower orders of the people, to inculcate in them habits of religion and morality, and industry, and due subordination, to relieve their wants, and correct their excesses: unless you will civilize your people, it is vain to look for national tranquillity or contentment.

Another ground of objection to the measure of Union is:—This is not a time for it. Are we then to await the period of actual bankruptcy, or the issue of a new rebellion, that Great Britain may be enabled to dictate to us the terms on which she will listen to the proposition? This is a period of all others the most auspicious for Ireland to set on foot such a treaty. The late rebellion has been so far put down, as to enable us to treat on fair and equal terms; the recollection of general peril arising from Irish treasons is fresh in the memory

of

of the British nation, and has taught that sober people the necessity of yielding their ancient prejudices to the general security of the empire.

Another ground of objection is:—That by a Legislative Union Ireland is to be extinguished.—This is a species of political arithmetic of the peculiar growth of Ireland. It is a singular arithmetic which assumes, that if two and three make up the gross number five, that two are extinguished. I should suppose that a captious Englishman might with equal reason object, that England was extinguished. If two Irish gentlemen should agree to become partners in a commercial speculation on a capital of 500l. two hundred subscribed by one partner, and three by the other, what would the proprietor of the lesser share say to his partner at the end of the year, when he demanded his proportion of the profits, if he told him gravely, Sir, you have nothing to do with the house—your two hundred are extinguished in the gross capital of five hundred, and you may go about your business—you are nobody in the house. How is Ireland extinguished in this national partnership?—The advantage clearly lies with the weaker partner, who will feel every benefit arising from the superior wealth, skill, and power of the great political house, and share her full dividend of the joint profits. I know it is the fashion of the day to assert, that however weak Ireland may be,

be, Great Britain must for her own sake support her in every circumstance of difficulty and danger: That the government of Great Britain never can suffer this country to separate itself from the British crown, much less to form a connexion with France, I feel perfect conviction. The British islands are formed by nature for mutual security or mutual destruction; and if we are to pursue the course we have thought fit to run for the last twenty years, it may become a question of doubtful issue, whether at a crisis of difficulty and danger, Great Britain will be enabled to support us, or we shall sink Great Britain. If the French armament, encouraged by Irish faction, and solicited by Irish traitors in 1796, had made a descent on your coasts at that period; is it an improbable conjecture, that at this day Ireland might have been the theatre of war, and the power and resources of Great Britain have been expended to redeem this country from a foreign yoke? and if we are to pursue the beaten course of faction and folly, I have no scruple to say, it were better for Great Britain that this island should sink into the sea, than to continue connected with the British crown on the terms of our present Union. We claim a right to trade with the British colonies and plantations, and we claim the protection of the British navy, without contributing to the necessary expence of either establishment. We claim a

right

right to retain the monopoly of the British market for our linens at the expence of an enormous tax imposed by England on her own consumption, and a revenue relinquished in the same proportion on foreign linens.

The annual average value for three years, ending 5th January, 1799, of products and manufactures of Ireland imported into Great Britain, was	£,5,510,835
The annual average value of products and manufactures of Great Britain exported to Ireland during the same period, was -	2,087,672
On this essential branch of trade, the balance in favour of Ireland, is	3,425,153
And take the whole of the trade of import and export, native and foreign, during the same period, the balance in favour of Ireland, is -	2,056,844
The whole annual value of imports from Ireland into Great Britain, native and foreign, was - - -	5,612,697
And of exports from Great Britain to Ireland, - - - -	3,555,845

We

We raise a revenue of more than 230,000l. on British goods imported into Ireland; and in return the revenue raised by England on the importation of Irish produce is little more than 10,000l. And what are the offerings of gratitude and duty on our part in return for these benefits and advantages?—A declaration of war by any foreign power against the British nation, is the signal for faction and rebellion in Ireland. The received maxim is, not to forego the opportunity of foreign war to press forward Irish claims, and ripen every difference and discontent with the British government, into a ground of permanent and rancorous national hostility; insomuch that in times of difficulty and danger, Great Britain, so far from deriving support or security from her connexion with Ireland, feels it as a mill-stone hung upon her neck. And for what object is it expected on our part that all this is to continue?—To support and maintain a few individuals in the exclusive possession of the patronage and power of the kingdom of Ireland, who claim a right on their part whenever they may think fit to quarrel with a British minister, to excite insurrection and rebellion, by representing the British nation to the people of Ireland, as their natural and instinctive enemy. Is it to be expected that all this can continue, or if it should continue long, that it must not involve both countries in common ruin?

Another argument against a Legislative Union is, that it will drive your nobility and gentry from their own country; and particularly impoverish the metropolis. With respect to emigration, look to the number of Irish emigrants who now crowd every village in Great-Britain, and have been driven to seek an asylum there from the brutal fury of the Irish people, and the cold-blooded treachery of their own domestics, palpably fomented and encouraged by Irish faction and Irish treason: And let any dispassionate man say, whether the evil of emigration can ever be greater than it is at this day. If we are to live in a perpetual storm here; if it is to remain at the discretion of every adventurer, of feeble and ostentatious talents, ungoverned by a particle of judgment or discretion, to dress up fictitious grievances for popular delusion, and let loose a savage and barbarous people upon the property and respect of the Irish nation, what gentleman who has the means of living out of this country, will be induced to remain in it? I do most solemnly declare, that no earthly consideration short of a strong sense of duty should have induced me to remain an eye-witness of the scenes of folly and madness, and horrors of every description in which I have lived for some years back; and that I had rather give up every prospect which remains to me in this country, and begin a new course in my old age, than submit to the same misery and disgust for the

remnant of my life. If you wish to stop emigration, you must enable sober and rational men to live at peace at home. And if they are allowed to return in security, I have no apprehension that the want of an annual procession from College-Green to Dublin-Castle, and a failure in the daily supply of venom and scurrility in the metropolis, will drive your nobility and gentry from their native country.—And as to the local interests of the city of Dublin; is it not extreme folly to suppose, if there be an influx of wealth into the country, that its fair proportion will not find its way to the capital? The same fears alarmed the citizens of Edinburgh; and it is notorious, that the wealth and population of that city have increased most rapidly since the Scotch Union. But if the apprehensions entertained for the local prosperity of Dublin were palpably well founded, are we to sacrifice the peace and happiness of the kingdom of Ireland, and the strength of the British empire, to the narrow and interested objects of the merchants and traders of the metropolis?

If an argument were wanting in favour of Irish Union, let every sober Irishman look to what has passed in this country since the measure was first proposed for discussion.—It was proposed at a crisis peculiarly interesting and awful; when we had scarcely recovered breath from the convulsion of a formidable and bloody rebellion; when we

were

were threatened with foreign invasion, concerted with the common enemy of mankind, by a numerous and connected gang of domestic traitors; when Great Britain paid a force of ten thousand troops sent by her to our assistance; and the Irish seas were covered by her fleets for our protection; when a formidable French force destined to the assistance of Irish rebels, had been intercepted by a British squadron, and was led captive through your country; and when more than whispers of indignation were vented against a veteran soldier, who was startled at the project of inflicting exterminating vengeance on a prostrate enemy. Such was our situation when it was first known that England was ready to open her arms to receive us into the communion of her liberty, and wealth, and industry, and happiness; and in that awful and perilous situation, the offer was treated, in the name and on behalf of the Irish Nation, by some gentlemen who call themselves Friends of Liberty and the Irish Constitution, with a degree of intemperance which I can compare only to the fury of wild beasts alarmed at an attack upon their prey. I take shame to acknowledge, that an evil example was set by some gentlemen of the honourable profession to which I belong. The flame spread with rapidity, and appeals of the most virulent and inflammatory tendency were made by these same Friends of Liberty to the deluded barbarians who had been so recently consigned by them

to indiscriminate extirpation. When the measure was proposed for discussion, the Friends of Liberty and the Constitution would not suffer it to be discussed; and when the measure was relinquished, the Friends of Liberty and the Constitution endeavoured to force the premature discussion of it, in the hope of precluding a fair review of its merits.

When this first burst of noise and clamour had subsided, the sober part of the community ventured to look at the Propositions of Union made on the part of Great-Britain, and saw nothing to excite alarm. They ventured to examine and found that much good might be expected from them, and in the course of a few months, when their avocations did not allow the Friends of Liberty and the Constitution to devote their time and exertions to popular delusion, the sober and rational part of the Irish nation saw in the measure of an Union, a fair prospect of peace and wealth, and happiness for their country;—and the bulk of the people professing not to understand the subject were perfectly indifferent to it. Such was the state of the public mind upon this question, when the late recess of parliament took place; and to their eternal reproach and dishonour be it spoken, some persons of high rank and consequence in the kingdom, availed themselves of that opportunity to become emissaries of sedition; and to canvas popular clamour against the measure, by the most

shameless

shameless impositions in the ignorance and credulity of every man who would listen to them. The zealous Protestant was told, "This is an insidious scheme of the British Minister, to deliver you up to the Papists bound hand and foot."—The Catholics were told, "If you suffer this, there is an end of your Emancipation."—The industrious farmer was told, "If this takes place, there is an end of your lease. Or if it should escape the grasp of your landlord, Mr. Pitt will take from you one half of the profits of your farm. How will you like if you have a profit of fifty pounds yearly on your farm, to pay twenty-five pounds to Mr. Pitt?" I have been told that this latter argument was pressed with success, in a part of the county of Tipperary, not far from my house, by a noble lord, who I know made his circuit in that county during the recess, whom I do not here see in his place. I will not believe it, and shall be glad to hear from him that he has been falsely accused. But the active exertions of itinerant Lords and Commoners, were not deemed sufficient for the occasion, and we have seen a consular authority assumed by two noble lords, and a right honourable Commoner, who have issued their letter missive to every part of the kingdom, commanding the people in the name of a number of gentlemen of both Houses of Parliament to come forward with petitions condemning in terms of violence and indignation the measure

sure of Union, prior to its discussion in parliament. One of these letters missive, and the petition enclosed with it, has been transmitted to me by a man to whom it was addressed, who it seems has the care of an estate in ward to the Court of Chancery, and in his simplicity desired the further order of the Chancellor upon it. It is unnecessary for me to state that he did not receive further directions from the Court of Chancery, but the letter missive, and the petition annexed to it, will sufficiently explain the sense of the people, and the means which have been adopted to overawe the deliberations of parliament. I will state the letter and petition faithfully as they have been transmitted to me:

"*Dublin, January* 20, 1800.

"SIR,

"A NUMBER of gentlemen of both Houses "of Parliament, of whom thirty-eight represent "counties, have authorised us to acquaint you, "that it is their opinion, that petitions to Parlia- "ment, declaring the real sense of the freeholders "of the kingdom, on the subject of a Legislative "Union, would at this time be highly expedient, "and if such a proceeding should have your ap- "probation, we are to request you will use your "influence to have such a petition from your "county without delay.

"We have the honour to be, &c.

"Signed, &c. &c. &c."

"P. S. The

"P.S. The enclosed petitions are to be signed "on one side only, in order that they may be col- "lected and pasted together—and you are re- "quested to transmit them when signed to Lord "_____, in order that they may be presented to "the House of Commons."

Such is the letter missive for taking the real sense of the people. Let us now look at the petition attending the letter missive, which is to convey the consular sense to the House of Commons, backed by popular outcry thus solicited by the letter missive.

"TO the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, in "Parliament assembled—the humble petition of "the undersigned freeholders of the county of "____ sheweth, that at this awful and alarming "crisis we feel ourselves called upon to declare "our opinion, that a Legislative Union with Great "Britain, to be a dangerous innovation, fraught "with ruin to the constitutional independence, "commercial interests, and general prosperity of "the kingdom. That this measure, by depriving "us of a resident and protecting legislature, un- "der which onr country has hitherto prospered "beyond example, by increasing the number of "absentees, and the consequent drain of our "wealth, must augment the discontents of the "kingdom, and thereby endanger the connexion "between Great Britain and Ireland, which we

"are determined to support with our lives and "fortunes. That we rely therefore with un-"shaken confidence on the wisdom and justice of "this honourable House, that it will maintain to "us and our posterity unimpaired, that sacred "constitution which is our birth-right, which has "been the source of every blessing to this island, "and the enjoyment of which we deem inseparable from our existence as a free people."

Let me ask the two noble lords who have thus put themselves forward, what are the exclusive pretensions of them and their Rt. Hon. colleague to guide the public opinion?—Let me ask them by what authority they have issued their letter missive to every corner of the kingdom, commanding the people to subscribe an instrument fraught with foul and virulent misrepresentation? And let me ask them, is there salvation for this country under her present government and constitution, when men of their rank and situation can stoop to so shabby and wicked an artifice to excite popular outcry against the declared sense of both Houses of Parliament? But this is not all, if loud and confident report is to have credit, a consular exchequer has been opened for foul and undisguised bribery. I know that subscriptions are openly solicited in the streets of the metropolis, to a fund for defeating the measure of Union. I will not believe that the persons to whom I have been obliged to allude can be privy to it. One of them, a noble Earl, I see in

his

his place; he is a very young man, and I call upon him as he fears to have his entry into public life marked with dishonour; I call upon him as he fears to live with the broad mark of infamy on his forehead, and to transmit it indelibly to his posterity, to stand up in his place, and acquit himself before his Peers of this foul imputation. I call upon him publicly to disavow all knowledge of the existence of such a fund; and if he cannot disavow it, to state explicitly any honest purpose to which it can be applied? If it can exist, I trust there is still sense and honour left in the Irish nation, to cut off the corrupted source of these vile abominations.

I am truly ashamed at the length of time for which I have trespassed on the House; the nature of the subject will I hope plead my apology; but I cannot dismiss it without adverting to the situation and circumstances of Scotland, when the Union of the two British kingdoms took place, which I shall do very shortly. Before the Union of the Scotch and English crowns in the person of James the First, the two nations were involved in perpetual warfare; during his reign, their struggles were different. The Scotch complained of English influence and national degradation; the English were jealous of the partiality of the King to his own countrymen, and were jealous of their trade; the English parliament refused to natura-

lize the Scotch; they reproached their English neighbours with selfish illiberality, who returned the compliment by reflections on the poverty of Scotland, so that at the first period of their connexion, the intercourse of these sister kingdoms consisted in the mutual interchange of contumely and reproach. In the succeeding reign they did unite, but it was against their common Sovereign. He took refuge from his English subjects in the Scotch army at Newark, who very honourably gave him up to their confederates in iniquity. At the Restoration the spirit of ancient rivalry and opposition was renewed, but after the convulsion of the former reign, it contributed in some degree to secure the royal authority, as each kingdom supplied the means of keeping the mal-contents of the other in awe. At the Revolution both nations were ready to sacrifice national jealousy to their hatred of popery, and both concurred in accepting King William for their common Sovereign. But in the reign of Queen Anne, the spirit of national antipathy broke out with vehemence and inveteracy; and the gentlemen of Ireland who are sincere in their love of British connexion would do well to look to the principal events that led to the incorporation of the two kingdoms at that period, and see whether singular grounds of jealousy and disunion between Great Britain and Ireland, have not broken out within the short period which has elapsed since our separation from the British nation.

The

The first act of hostility on the part of Scotland was to establish a company for forming a settlement on the Spanish Main, avowedly to enable the Scots nation to share the wealth, and rival the trade of England. This project miscarried, after hasarding a war between England and Spain, and producing much anger and controversy between the sister kingdoms. On failure of the Queen's issue, a new settlement of the Crown by the Scotch parliament became necessary, and of this crisis full advantage was taken by the Scotch patriots. Bishop Burnet's account of them is a perfect description of the Whigs of Ireland in the year 1789—and at this day. "A national humour "of rendering themselves a free and independent "kingdom did so inflame them, that as there was "a majority in parliament of seventy on their "side, they seemed capable of the most extrava- "gant things that could be suggested to them. All "was carried with heat and much vehemence, "for a national humour of being independent "of England, fermented so strongly amongst all "sorts of people without doors, that such as "went not into every hot motion that was made "were looked on as betrayers of their country, "and they were so exposed to popular fury, that "some who studied to stop this tide were brought "in danger of their lives. The Presbyterians "were so overawed with this, that although they "wished well to the succession, they durst not

"openly

"openly declare it. The Dukes of Hamilton "and Athol led all these violent motions, and "the people were strangely inflamed."

And the national humour of rendering themselves independent of England, led the Scotch parliament to the violent and desperate step of resolving that until essential provision was made for settling the rights and liberties of the Scottish nation, independent of English interests and English councils, the successor to the Scotch crown should not be the same person that was possessed of the crown of England. To this resolution succeeded an order for arming and training the subjects of Scotland. The parliament of England addressed the Queen to give orders for fortifying the towns on the northern frontiers, for arming the Militia of the northern counties, and for stationing regular forces there and in the north of Ireland. An Act was passed declaring the natives of Scotland aliens until they should settle the crown on the House of Hanover. The Scots had passed an Act for allowing a trade with France, then at war with England; and English ships of war were ordered to seize the ships of Scotland trading with the enemies of England; and thus were the two countries on the point of going to war, when, in despite of the violence of party and false pride of Scotch dignity and independence, the good sense of that nation laid the only

solid

solid and lasting foundation of peace and security for their religion, laws, liberty and prosperity, by an entire and perfect Union with England. And it is with cordial sincerity, and a full conviction that it will give to this my native country, lasting peace and security for her religion, her laws, her liberty, and her property, an increase of strength, riches and trade, and the final extinction of national jealousy and animosity, that I now propose to this grave assembly for their adoption, an entire and perfect Union of the kingdom of Ireland with Great Britain. If I live to see it completed, to my latest hour I shall feel an honourable pride in reflecting on the little share which I may have in contributing to effect it.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

A Plan for an Equal Representation of the People of Ireland in the House of Commons, prepared for their Consideration by the Society of United Irishmen of Dublin.

I. THAT the Nation, for the Purpose of Representation solely, should be divided into 330 Electorates, formed by Combination of Parishes, and as nearly as possible equal in Point of Population.

II. THAT each Electorate should return one Representative to Parliament.

III. THAT each Electorate should, for the Convenience of carrying on the Elections at the same Time, be subdivided into a sufficient Number of Parts.

IV. THAT there should be a returning Officer for each Subdivision, to be respectively elected.

V. THAT the Electors of the Electorate should vote, each in the Subdivision in which he is registered, and has resided as hereinafter specified.

VI. THAT the returning Officers of the Subdivisions should severally return their respective Polls to the returning Officer of the Electorate, who should tot up the Whole, and return the Person having a Majority of Votes, as the Representative in Parliament.

VII. THAT every Man possessing the Right of Suffrage for a Representative in Parliament, should exercise it in his own Person only.

VIII. THAT no Person should have a Right to vote in more than one Electorate at the same Election.

IX. THAT every Male of sound Mind, who has attained the full Age of 21 Years, and actually dwelt, or maintained a Family Establishment in any Electorate for six Months of the Twelve immediately previous to the Commencement of the Election, (provided his Residence, or maintaining a Family

Family Establishment be duly registered) should be intitled to vote for the Representation of the Electorate.

X. THAT there should be a Registering Officer, and a Registry of Residence in every Subdivision of each Electorate; and that in all Questions concerning Residence, the Registry should be considered as conclusive Evidence.

XI. THAT all Elections in the Nation should commence and close on the same Day.

XII. THAT the Votes of all Electors should be given by Voice, and not by Ballot.

XIII. THAT no Oath of any Kind should be taken by any Elector.

XIV. That the full Age of 25 Years should be a necessary Qualification to intitle any Man to be a Representative.

XV. THAT Residence within the Electorate should not, but that Residence within the Kingdom should be a necessary Qualification for a Representative.

XVI. That no Property Qualification should be necessary to intitle any Man to be a Representative.

XVII. THAT any Person having a Pension, or holding a Place in the Executive or Judicial Departments, should be thereby disqualified from being a Representative.

XVIII. That Representatives should receive a reasonable Stipend for their Services.

XIX. THAT every Representative should, on taking his Seat, swear that neither he, nor any Person to promote his Interest, with his Privity, gave or was to give any Bribe for the Suffrage of any Voter.

XX. THAT any Representative convicted by a Jury, of having acted contrary to the Substance of the above Oath, should be for ever disqualified from sitting or voting in Parliament.

XXI. That Parliments should be Annual.

XXII. THAT a Representative should be at Liberty to resign his Delegation upon giving sufficient Notice to his Constituents.

XXIII. That Absence from Duty for should vacate the Seat of a Representative.

FINIS.

BRITISH MUSEUM

Printed by S. GOSNELL, *Little Queen-Street, Holborn.*